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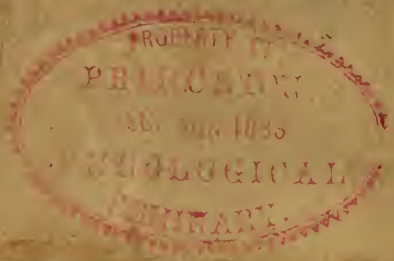

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B. W. Mathia

THE TRUE HISTORY OF COUNCILS

Enlarged and Defended,

Against the Deceits of a pretended Vindicator of the Primitive Church, but indeed of the Tympanite & Tyranny of some Prelates many hundred years after Christ.

With a Detection of the false History of *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Corke* and *Rosse* in *Ireland*.

And a Specimen of the way by which this Generation confuteth their Adversaries in several Instances.

And a Preface abbreviating much of *Ludolphus*'s History of *Habassia*.

Written to shew their dangerous Errour, who think that a general Council, or Colledge of Bishops, is a supream Governour of all the Christian World, with power of Universal Legislation, Judgment and Execution, and that Christs Laws without their Universal Laws, are not sufficient for the Churches Unity and Concord.

By RICHARD BAXTER, *a Lover of Truth, Love, and Peace, and a Hater of Lying, Malignity, and Persecution.*

To which is added by another Hand, a Defence of a Book, Entituled, *No Evidence for Dioceſan Churches.* Wherein what is further produced out of Scripture, and ancient Authors, for Dioceſan Churches, is diſcuſſed.

London, Printed for *Tho. Parkhurſt*, at the Bible and Three Crowns, at the lower end of *Cheapſide*, near *Mercers* Chappel. 1682.

To the Pious and Peaceable Protestant-Conforming Ministers, who are against our Subjection to a Foreign Jurisdiction. The notice of the Reason of this Book, with a Breviate of *Ludolphus*'s Habassian History.

Reverend Brethren,

WHen after the effects of our calamitous divisions, the rejoycing Nation supposed they had been united, in our King newly restored (by a General and Army which had been fighting against him, invited & strengthned by the City, & many others) & an Act of Oblivion seemed to have prepared for future amity; some little thought that men were about going further from each other than they were before: But the Malady was evident to such of us as were called to attempt a Cure, and neither the Causes *nor the* Prognosticks *hard to be known. A certain and cheap Remedy was obvious; but no Pleas, no Petitions, could get men to accept it. The Symptomes then threatned far worse than yet hath come to pass, God being more merciful to us than mistaken men. We were then judged criminal for foreseeing and foretelling what Fruit the Seed then sown would bring forth: And since then the* Sowers *say the* Foretellers *are the cause of all. We quickly saw, that instead of hoping for any Concord, and healing of the Bones which then were broken, it*

would become our Care and too hard work, to endeavour to prevent a greater breach. Though we thought Two Thousand such Ministers as were silenced would be mist, when others thought it a blessing to be rid of them, we then feared, and some hoped, that no small number more would follow them.

It was not you that cast such out; nor is it you that wish the continuance and increase of the Causes. We agree with you in all points of the Christian Reformed Religion: and concerning the evil of all the sins which we fear by Conforming to commit, though we agree not of the meaning of those Oaths, Promises, Professions, and Practices, which are the matter feared. We live in unfeigned Love and Communion with those that love Truth, Holiness and Peace, notwithstanding such differences as these. God hath not laid our Salvation or Communion upon our agreeing about the meaning of every word or Sentence in the Bible, much less on our agreeing of the sense of every word in all the Laws and Canons of men.

Two things we earnestly request of you, for the sake of the Christian Religion, this trembling Nation, and your own and others Souls. 1. *That you will in your Parish Relations seriously use your best endeavours to promote true Godliness and Brotherly Love, and to heal the sad Divisions of the Churches: We believe that it must be much by the Parochial Ministers and Assemblies, that Piety and Protestant Verity must be kept up: And what we may not do, we pray that you may do it who are allowed.* 2. *That you will join with us against all* Foreign Jurisdiction, *Ecclesiastical or Civil.*

The Party which we dread I have given you some account of in my Reply to Mr. Dodwell. *By their Fruits you may know them.* 1. *They are such as labour to make our Breaches wider, by rendring those that they dissent from*

from odious, which commonly is by false accusations; They call out for Execution *by the Sword against those that dare not do as they do, and cry,* Go on, abate nothing; they are factious Schismaticks, rebellious: *They might easily have learnt this Language, without staying long in the Universities, and without all the Brimstone Books that teach it them. An invisible Tutor can soon teach it them without Book.* He that hateth his Brother is a murtherer, and hath not eternal Life abiding in him. 2. *They are for an universal humane Government, with power of Legislation and Judgment over the whole Christian World. How to call it they are not yet agreed, whether Aristocratical, or Monarchical, or mixt. Some of them say that it is in the* Collegium Episcoporum, *governing* per Literas formatas, *for fear lest if they say, It is in Councils, they should presently be confuted by the copious Evidence which we produce against them. And yet they may well think that men will ask them [When did all the Bishops on Earth make Laws for all the Christian World, or pass Sentences on Offenders without ever meeting together? And how came they to know each others minds? and which way the major Vote went? And what, and where are those Laws which we must all be governed by, which neither God nor Councils made? The Canons were all made by Councils.*

If you say that I describe men so mad, as that I must be thought to wrong them, I now only ask you, whether our Case be not dismal when such men as you call mad, have power to bring us and keep us in our Divisions; or to do much towards it without much contradiction?

But others who know that such palpable darkness will not serve their cause, do openly say, that it is General Councils which are the Legislative and judging Governours.

nours to the whole Church on Earth, as one *Political Body. For they know that we have no other Laws besides Gods and theirs, pretended to be made for all the World. But when the Cases opened by me in the Second part of my* Key for Catholicks, *and else where, do silence them, this Fort also is deserted by them. Even* Albert. Pighius *hath rendred it ridiculous.* 1. *If this be the specifying or unifying Head, or* summa Potestas *of the Universal Church, then it is not monarchical but Aristocratical.* 2. *Then the Church is no Church, when for hundreds of Years there are no General Councils, an essential part being wanting. And they that own but the* 4 *or* 6 *first General Councils, make the Church no Church, or to have been without its essentiating Government these Thousand Years. And by what proof, besides their incredible Word, can they tell the Church, that they are subject to the six first General Councils, and yet not to the seventh, eighth, ninth, or any since?* 3. *I have oft (against* Johnson, *and elsewhere,) proved that there never was an universal Council of all the Churches, but only of part of those in the Roman Empire; Were there no proof but from the recorded Names of the Callers of Councils, and all the Subscribers, it is unanswerable.* 4. *Who knows not that the Church is now divided into about Twelve Sects, all condemning one another? And that they are under the Power of various Princes, and many Enemies to Christianity, who will never agree to give them leave to travel to General Councils? And who shall call them, or how long time will you give the Bishops of* Antioch, Alexandria, *the* Jacobites, Abassines, Nestorians, Armenians, Muscovites, *and all the rest, to learn so much of each others Languages, as to debate intelligibly matters of such moment, as Laws for all the World must be. Twenty more such absurdities, make this*

this Aristocracy over all the World, as mad a conceit as that forementioned: And when we know already what the Christian Parties hold, and that the said Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Circassians, Mengrelians, Greeks, Muscovites, *&c. are far more than either Protestants or Papists, do we not know that in Councils if they have free Votes they will judge accordingly against both.*

But this sort of men are well aware, that the Church is always, *but* Councils are rare, *and it's, at least, uncertain whether ever there will be more; and the Articles of the Church of* England *say,* They may not be called without the Will of Princes; *and the Church is now under so many contrary Princes as are never like to agree hereto. And they know that some body must call them, and some body must preside,* &c. *Therefore they are forced to speak out, and say, that* the Pope is St. *Peters* Successor, the prime Patriarch, and *principium Unitatis*, and must call Councils, and as President moderate and difference the lawful from the unlawful: *And that in the* Intervals *of Councils he as* Patriarch *is to govern at least the West, and that every* Dioceſane *being* ex Officio, *the* Repreſenter of his Dioceſs, and every Metropolitane of his Province, and every Patriarch of his Patriarchate, what theſe do all the Biſhops on Earth do. *And so the Riddle of a* Collegium Paſtorum *is opened, and all cometh but to this, that the* Italians *are* Papiſts, *who would have the Pope* rule Arbitrarily, *as above Councils; but the* French *are no Papiſts, who would have the Pope rule only by the Canons or Church Parliaments, and to be* ſingulis Major, at univerſis Minor. *This is the true Reformation of Church-Government, in which the Engliſh ſhould (by them) agree. And now you know what I am warning you to beware of.*

We are for a twiſt & conjunction of the civil Power and

and the Eccleſiaſtical, and for Chriſtian Kingdoms, and Churches, ſo far national as to be ruled and protected by Chriſtian Kings, in the greateſt Love and Concord that can be well obtained: And for Councils neceſſary to ſuch ends: But we are not for ſetting up a Foreign Juriſdiction over King and Kingdom, Church and Souls, upon the falſe claim of uncapable Uſurpers. One of your ſelves in a ſmall Book called, The whole Duty of Nations, *and another,* Dr. *Iſaac* Barrow againſt Papal and all Foreign Juriſdiction, (*publiſhed by Dr.* Tillotſon) *have ſpoken our thoughts ſo fully, as that we only intreat you to take thoſe for our ſenſe, and concurr with us therein for our common Peace and Safety.*

We reverence all Councils ſo far as they have done good; we are even for the Advice *and* Concord *of* Foreigners; *but not their Juriſdiction.*

If you know the difference between an Aſſembly of Princes conſulting for Peace and Concord, and a Senate to govern all thoſe Princes as their Subjects, you will know the difference between our Reverence *to* Foreign Councils, *and the* Obedience *to them now challenged as the only way to avoid Schiſm. I hope you will join with us in being called Schiſmaticks both to* Italian *and* French *Papiſts.*

The great Inſtrument of ſuch mens Deſign being to over-extol Councils *called* General, *and to hide their* Miſcarriages, *and ſo by falſe Hiſtory to deceive their credulous party who cannot have while to ſearch after the truth, I took it to be my Duty to tell ſuch men the truth out of the moſt credible Hiſtorians, eſpecially out of the Councils themſelves as written by our greateſt Adverſaries; that they may truly know what ſuch Biſhops and Councils have done. Among others this exaſperated a Writer, (by fame called Mr.* Morrice,) *who would make men believe that I have wronged Councils and Biſhops,*

and

and falsified History: and divers other accusations he brings, to which I have tendered you mine Answer. I have heard men reverence the English *Synods, who yet thought that the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th Excommunicating Canons and the late Engines to cast out* 2000 *Ministers, proved them such to* England *as I will not denominate. I have heard men reverence the present Ministry and Universities, who yet have said, that they fear more hurt from the worser part of them to* England, *than they should do from an Army of Foreign Enemies whom we might resist.*

I write much, and in great weakness and haste, and have not time for due perusal: And my judgment is rather to do it when I think it necessary, as I can, than not at all. And Mr. M. *would make his Readers believe, when he hath found a word of* Theodorets *hastily mistaken, and* Calami *translated* Quils, *and such matter for a few trifling cavils, that he hath vindicated the Councils and Bishops, and proved me a false Historian.*

And can we have a harder censure of General Councils than his own Reverend Lords and Patrons pass upon them, who tell us that there is but six of all the multitude to be owned. If all the rest are to be rejected, I think the faults of those six may be made known, against their Designs who would bring us under a Foreign Jurisdiction, by the art of over-magnifying General Councils.

I confess these men have great advantage against all that such as I can say; for they have got a sort of Followers who will take their words, and are far from having will or wit impartially themselves to read the Histories and try the case; but will swear that we are all Rogues and Schismaticks, and unfit to be suffered: And they have got young Reverend Priests, who can cry, away with them, execute the Laws; *being conscious how much*

less able they are to confute us, than the Gaoler is: But this is but a Dream: The morning is near, when we shall all awake. Perhaps you remember the jeasting story with which Sagitarius *begins the Preface to his Metaphysicks: Indeed the hysterical suffocating Vapours do ordinarily so work, that in a place of Perfumes or sweetness the Women faint and swoun away as dead; and Castory or Assa Fœtida, called* Stercus Diaboli, *or such like stink, reviveth them like a Cordial. And worse vapours affect the men we speak of: Motions of Love they cannot bear; but reviling and false accusing Books and Speeches are Food and Medicine to them.*

One of my chief Controversies with Mr. M. *is about the Acts and Effects of the Councils of* Ephesus *and* Calcedon, *about the Nestorian and Eutychian and Monothelite Controversies. That the issue was most doleful Divisions of the Christian World, unhealed to this day, is past the denial of sober men. Whether this was long of the Bishops and Councils is the question. I have fully proved that* Nestorius, Cyril, *and* Dioscorus *were all of the same Faith and differed but in wording the same sense: And if so, judge how much the World is beholden to these Councils of Bishops: But this Mr.* M. *taketh for a false Report.*

Because it is our most important difference, I will here give the Reader an account of the Effect of these Councils even to our times, in the great Empire of Habassia, *out of the much praised History of* Job Ludolphus.

Lib. 3. c. 8. *In order to declare the Religion of the* Habassines *he first declareth the Success of the Council of* Calcedon, *thus*,··· [Damnatus Dioscorus Patriarcha Alexandrinus tanquam Eutychis Defensor & Hæresiarcha, verberibus quoque mulctatus & in exilium ejectus fuit, alio Patriarcha Catholico in locum ejus suffecto···

Atrox

Atrox exinde in Ecclesia Alexandrina Schisma, cæde & sanguine continuatum, in causa fuit, ut non solum multo maxima pars Ecclesiæ Alexand. à reliqua Ecclesia Catholica avelleretur, sed & Ægyptus ipsa, attritis incolarum viribus, in Saracenorum potestatem veniret; qui discordiâ Christianorum, utrosque oppressérunt; ut exiguum, proh dolor! vestigium Christianæ Religionis nunc in Ægypto superstit. Hæc atque alia talia Scriptores nostri.

And the loss of Egypt *and the South, so strengthened the Enemies of Christianity, that this breach let in Destruction to the whole Christian Empire: But the loss of the whole Empire and Introduction of Mahometanism, in the Eyes of our fiery Canoneers, is no dishonour to these Councils: It is but saying,* It was all long of *Dioscorus*, and the Hereticks: *And were not these Hereticks also Prelates and Prelatical?*

But he procedeth, [" But the *Æthiopians* thus re-
" port it, that *Dioscorus* and his Successors, and their
" followers did greatly complain of the Injury done
" them; for he neither followed *Eutyches*, nor ever de-
" nied or confounded the Divinity or Humanity really
" existing in Christ, but only was unwilling to acknowledg
" the word [Nature] to be common to the Divinfty and
" Humanity of Christ; and only avoided this, lest con-
" trary to the mind of the Catholick Church, and the
" Decrees of the General Council at *Ephesus*, two per-
" sons of Christ should be asserted: For that would fol-
" low, if we admit Two Natures, and two Wills in
" Christ. And the word [φύσις] [*Nature*] signifying som-
" what born or created, no way fitteth the Divinity:
" Nor can the mind conceive of two Wills, in two Na-
" tures united in one person, without Division, Separa-
" tion, or Distance: And the Humane Nature exalted
" into the state of Glory, doth not will, do, or suffer the

" ſame which it willed, did and ſuffered in the ſtate of " Exinanition; and ſo in the preſent ſtate of Glory, " the humanity doth neither will nor judge any thing " but what the Divinity at once willeth and judgeth. " And this being our known Judgment, the queſtion " ſeemeth idle, and a meer ſtrife of Words, for which " Chriſtians ſhould not have hated one another. At *Cal-* " *cedon* they proceeded from Words to Blows, and " fought more than they diſputed: And *Dioſcorus* was " condemned abſent, neither heard nor well underſtood, " as obſtinate and guilty of Hereſie in Hatred and En- " vy rather than by right.]

This is the Habaſſines *Opinion of the Council and Controverſie, falſe no doubt in our Canoneers Judgment, (for alas they are unlearned men;) but indeed much truer and wiſer than their Adverſaries.*

He proceedeth, 'Primo reperi omni dubio carere, quod 'Habeſſini rejiciunt conſilium Chalcedonenſe--- 2. Ob- 'ſervavi eos in hoc errore eſſe, quaſi Patres Concilii Cal- 'ced. Hypoſtaſin Chriſti dividere, & contra præcedens 'Concilium Epheſinum ex una duas perſonas facere vo- 'luerint--- Hanc ob cauſam damnant Leonem Papam, & 'in cœlum extollunt ſuum Dioſcorum tanquam Ortho- 'doxæ fidei hyperaſpiſten qui juſto zelo diploma Leonis 'ad ſe datum dilaceravit; eumque Martyri aſſimilant, ob 'accepta verbera, excuſſos dentes & evulſam barbam.] (*But it eaſed the Spleen of the Bps. at preſent, and then all the following loſs ſeems tolerable.*)*He addeth,* [4.Con- 'ſtat ex multis locis, quod utrumque abſtractum, Divi- 'nitatem & Humanitatem, conjunctim in Chriſto aperte 'confiteantur. Quid autem hoc aliud eſt, quam agnoſce- 're duas ſimul naturas in Chriſto. 5. Tellezius ex Rela- 'tione Patrum ſocietatis teſtatur [utramque naturam] 'reperiri in eorum libris. 6. *He ſhews that the Habaſſines*

'*words*

'*words have various signification, and by* two natures, 'they mean two Persons--Which(*saith* Ludolphus)when I 'read and consider, I find all to be confused and per- 'plexed: There is no certain state of the question, and 'the words are out of measure equivocal. Perhaps *Eu-* '*tyches* himself could not tell what sort of Nature was 'made of two, and what was its name, and what was its 'qualities: But that he was such a fool as to think that 'the Natures in Christ were so confused as Water is with 'Wine, and that in so absurd an Opinion he had most 'wise men agreeing with him; this almost exceedeth all 'belief: Certainly the *Ethiopians* are not guilty of so 'gross a Heresie. Wherefore I confess I cannot under- 'stand what those frequent Disputations were, which 'the Jesuits had with the Habassines, of two Natures in 'Christ, in which they say they had still the worse, be- 'ing convicted by their own Books, which I easily believe, 'seeing they most willingly confess Christs Divinity and 'Humanity. To me it seemeth likely only that they 'could not agree in words. Do but explain to them that by 'Natures in Christ we mean his Divinity and Humanity, '& then ask them which Nature is it that faileth in Christ. 'Most certainly they will answer that neither the Divi- 'vinity nor Humanity failed, but both continue eternal- 'ly. And so it's plain, that they take the word Nature 'in a far other sense than we, and that the true state of 'the question with them is, whether and by what com- 'mon Name the two abstracts are to be denominated, 'which they undoubtedly confess.

Now good Mr. Morrice, (*with your Lords*) *you must pardon me,* (*or choose*) *for thinking that* it is not necessary to Salvation, or to keep the Church from utter confusion, *to be such Criticks in Grammar or Metaphysicks, as to resolve the questions about the sence of* Nature,

ture, *and* Unity, *or* Duality, *which you no better resolve your selves; I say, it is not necessary by Gods Law, but by the Councils: And if I be a Schismatick for holding that Christs Universal Law is so sufficient for his Church, as that a Legislative Power in Councils to make such Laws as shall tear all to pieces the Churches for* 1300 *Years, and teach our Holy Fathers to damn Millions of the Innocent, is not either necessary or desireable; a Schismatick I will continue.*

Ludolphus *proceeding to open the ambiguity of the words, addeth,* [' A famous Country-man of ours, who ' *anno* 1634. dwelling in *Egypt*, read the Books of the ' Cophties (*Pet. Heylin* of *Lubeck.*) judged that [the ' Dissent of the Parties was more in their fear of the Se- ' quele, than in the matter itself: For the *Greeks* would ' obviate the Hereticks who confound Christs Divinity ' and Humanity: And the Cophties those who feign two ' Persons in Christ.] And if indeed this be the case, that ' the Fight either of old was, or still is only about the ' sense of words; verily no kind of Tears can be so sharp, as ' to suffice to weep for this unhappy Word-War; No Breast ' can be so hard which would not mourn for the unhappy ' Contentions of them, to whom Christ by his own ex- ' ample solicitously commended the strictest Bond of Cha- ' rity: No mind can be so cruel, which for the name of ' [*Nature*] would loose the knot of Concord between ' those whose Nature the eternal Word assumeth into ' his most sacred Hypostasis.]

Fie, Mr. Ludolphus, *can you so well describe* Ethiopia, *and no better know your Neighbours? Come into* England *and you may soon know the Reverend and Right Reverend, who will not only defend this Councils Acts, and condemn those that be not of their mind, but are ready to do the like themselves, and triumph over the thousands silenced*

silenced, as they judge, for lesser things; yea, and make that Councils Canons such a Law to the Universal Church, as that all are Schismaticks that obey it not.

But Ludolphus *yet considering, addeth,* [But such is the Infirmity of our most corrupt Nature, that where once Ambition hath begun, and from Ambition Emulation, and from Emulation Envy, and from Envy Hatred, the mind possessed with (such) affections, no more perceiveth Truth, but as with Ears and Eyes shut up, neither heareth nor seeth, how or with what mind any thing is spoken or written by the other side.

O Sir, now I perceive you understand more than you seemed to do.

But yet the History is behind. The Pope hath long had a great desire to be the Church Governour of Habassia, *but could never come to know it, much less to bear Rule over it. At last the* Portugals *getting possession of some Maritime parts, whence with much difficulty it was possible to come to them, the Pope got them to help the* Habassines *in a dangerous War which they had against their Neighbour* Mahometanes *and* Heathens, *on condition that the* Habassines *would receive a Patriarch and Jesuites from* Rome: *The* Portugals *Guns, (which that Country had not) and their own necessity, made the* Habassines *consent: The* Roman *Patriarch and Jesuits came over. The custom of* Habassia *had long been to receive a Metropolitan called their* Abuna, *from the Patriarch of* Alexandria, *who being a poor unlearned Subject, and almost Slave to the* Turk, *made* Abunas *and Priests as unlearned as himself: when the Jesuits came furnished with Arts and Sciences, the matter came to long Disputes; for the People, especially the Monks and the Rulers, were loth to change their old accustomed Religion, called the Alexandrian, for that called the Romane:*

The

The King would needs have it done by hearing both parties speak: But the learned Jesuites were still too hard for the unlearned Habassines: One King seemed to like the Romanes, but his Son (Claudius) *stiffly resisted them: Others afterward again needed help, and received them, and by their Disputes seemed really to be for them, seeing how much the Jesuites excelled their Priests; specially K.* Zadengelus, *being taken with the Jesuits Preaching, when all his own Clergy only read Liturgies & Homilies, & never preacht: He set up the Romane Patriarch & power, & K.* Susneus *after him sware Obedience to the Pope, and resolutely established Popery:* Disputes *brought him to it: And the Jesuites knowing that it must be somthing which seemed to be of Weight, which must make the Empire submit to a Change of their Religion, accuse the* Abassines *as erring with the* Eutychians, *in rejecting the Council of* Calcedon, *and denying two* Natures *and* Wills *in Christ. This was chosen as the main Subject of the great Disputes: The Emperour was convinced of their Heresie, and became a resolute Proselite to* Rome: *And Popery Eight Years had the upper ruling hand.*

But all this while the Empire was in discontent: The Royal Family and the Sub-Governours oft broke out into Rebellion. To be short, many bloody battels were fought. The Emperour usually had the Victory: But when one field of blood was dried up, a new Rebellion still Sprung up. The Papists still told the K. that God gave him the Victory for owning his Church and Cause. His Rulers, Priests, and Monks told him he killed his Subjects, and in the end would lose his Empire for nothing but bare words. After many fights in the last about Eight Thousand of his Subjects called his Enemies, were killed: The Kings own adherents being no friends to the Roman Change, desired the King to view the dead, and made to him presently

this

this Speech: 'These were not Heathens nor Mahometanes, 'in whose death we might justly rejoice: They were Chri-'stians; they were formerly your Subjects, our Countrymen, 'and near in Body some of them to you, and some to us: 'How much better might so many valiant Breasts have 'been set against the deadly Enemies of your Kingdom. 'It's no victory which is got upon Citizens; with the 'Sword by which you kill them, you stab your self. Those 'whom we persecute with so terrible a War do not hate 'us, but only are against that Worship which we force 'them to: How many have we already killed for the 'changing of Religion (*Sacrorum*?) How many more 'are there yet to be killed? What end will there be of 'Fighting? Give over we beseech you, to drive them to 'your new Religious things (*nova sacra*,) lest they give 'over to obey you, else there will never be a safe peace.]

Yea, the Kings eldest Son and his Brother got the Gallans (*Heathens*,) *that had been Souldiers for the King, to tell him they would fight against his Dissenting Christians no more. The K. growing weary of War, and seeing and hearing all this, changed his mind, and called a Council, in which it was agreed*, [That the Alexandrian Religion should be restored: And to effect this they declared, that indeed the Roman Religion was the very same: Both said that Christ is true God and true Man: And to say, There is one Nature, or there are two, are words of small moment, and not worthy the ruining of the Empire.] And thus the King was brought to give Liberty of Religion to the Dissenters.

The Romane Patriarch understanding all this, goeth with the Bishop and Jesuits to the King, *and made this Speech to him*, ['I thought we had been lately Conque-'rours, but behold we are conquered: The Rebels that 'were conquered have obtained that which they desired:

'Before the Fight was the time of Vowing and Promising,
'but now is the time of Performing: The Catholick and
'*Portugal* Soldiers got the Victory, God prospering the
'Catholick Religion: But now what thanks is given him?
'When it is decreed the other day, that the Alexandri-
'an Religion shall be freely permitted. And here you
'consult not with the Bps. and Religious men, but the
'dull Vulgar, and Gallanes and Mahometanes, yea and
'Women pass Sentence of Religion: Bethink you how
'many Victories you have won against the Rebels since
'you followed the Romane Religion. Remember that it
'was not as constrained by Arms or Fear, but induced by
'free Will, that you embraced it as the truer. Nor did
'we come to you of our own accord, but were sent by
'the Pope of *Rome*, the highest Prelate, and the King of
'*Portugal*, and this at your Request. Nor did they ever
'intend any thing (against you) but only to join your
'Kingdom to the Church of *Rome*. Take heed therefore
'lest you provoke them to just Indignation: They are
'far off you, but God is near you, and will demand the
'satisfaction which is due to them, you will inure an in-
'delible Blot on the Lyon of the tribe of *Judah*, with
'whom your Ensigns shine; and will imprint a stain on
'your Glory and your Nation: In a word, you will cause
'so many sins by your Apostasie, as, that I may not see
'them, nor the Vengeance of God, which hangeth over
'you, I desire you to command that my Head may be
'presently cut off.] Thus lay the Parriarch, Bp. and Je-
suits at the Kings feet in tears.

Readers, Lest you think that I have mistranslated, to fit the matter to our times, I intreat the learned to try it by the Original: You see that the things that are, have been, and that sin so blindeth and hardeneth sinners, that one Age and Country will take no warning by many others.

You

You see here that the Name and Interest of God and Religion, and the Church may be pleaded by a blind ambitious Clergy, for the murdering of Thousands for a bare difference of Names and Words, and Gods Judgments threatned against those that will not go on in killing and destroying, and making Kingdoms desolate by Cruelty: And that the hurt Satan doth by Witches and Highway Robbers, is a Flea-biting in comparison of what he doth by ambitious Prelates and valiant Soldiers. The dismallest Story of the success of Witches is that of the Swedes *Witches, by Mr.* Hornick *translated; But what is the killing of now and then one, to the Murder of so many Thousands, the Ruine of so many Kingdoms, the Silencing of so many Thousand faithful Preachers, the Persecuting of so many Thousand godly Christians, and the engaging the Christian World in Hatred and War, as the Popish Prelates have been guilty of?*

But you'l expect the Answer of King Sufneus *to the Patriarch.*

Ludolphus *thus proceedeth,* (li. 3. c. 12.) ['The King 'unmoved briefly answereth, that he had done as much 'as he was able, but could do no more. And that the bu-'sinefs was not about the total change of Religion, but 'only about the grant or (Liberty) of certain Rites (or 'Ceremonies.)

(*O Sir, you had been happier if you had known that sooner!*)

'The Patriarch answered, that he himself had indul-'ged some things, and was about to indulge more, which 'concern not the substance of Faith, (*you are for Toleration till the Fires are kindled,*) so be it another Edict might be proclaimed, that there might be no other change. The King gave him no other Answer, but that the next day he would send some to treat with the Fathers.

They that were for the Alexandrian Religion go to the Emperour, and by *Abba Athanasius* requeſt, that by a publick Edict he would allow his Subjects to embrace the Religion of their Anceſtors, elſe the Kingdom would be ruined. The King conſented, and ſent ſome to the Patriarch, to acquaint him with it. Theſe upbraid him with the many defections of the People. '*Ælius*, '*Caabrael*, *Tecla-George*, *Sertzax*, with many *Myriades* 'ſlain: And that the *Laſtenſes* yet fought for the old Re-'ligion, and all ran to them. But the King was deſerted, 'all the *Habaſſines* deſiring their old Religion. But that 'they that would might follow the Roman Religion, '*&c.*

The Papiſts ſeeing that they could get no better but a Toleration, ſent to the King this Anſwer by Emanuel d' Almeyda, *That* ['the Patriarch underſtood, that both 'Religions were tolerated in his Kingdom, and now he 'loved *Ethiopia* equally with his own Country *Portu-'gal*, and would preſently grant as much as might ſtand 'with the purity of Doctrine, (*viz*, of the two Natures) 'But there muſt be difference made between thoſe who 'had not yet received the Roman Religion, and with 'them they might agree; but thoſe that had given up 'themſelves to it, and had uſed the ſacred Confeſſion 'and Communion, might not be ſuffered to return to the 'Alexandrian Religion without grievous Sin.] By this temperament the Patriarch would have kept the King and all his Court; for theſe had profeſſed the Roman Religion. But the King weakened with Age and Sickneſs gave them no other Anſwer but, ['But how can that be 'done, for I have not now the Power of the Kingdom?] Home went the Prelates and Jeſuits: And preſently the Trumpets and Drums ſounded, and the Crier proclaimed, ['Oyes, Oyes, (*Hear ye*) We firſt propoſed to you 'the

'the Romane Religion, taking it for good; but an in-
'numerable multitude of men perished, with *Ælius*, *Ca-*
'*brall*, *Tecla-George*, *Sertzaxo*, and with the Country
'*Lastenses*; Wherefore we now grant you the Religion
'of your Ancestors: It shall be lawful hereafter for the
'Alexandrian Clergy to frequent their Churches, and to
'have their *Arculæ* for the Eucharist, and to read their
'Liturgy in the old manner: So farewel, and Rejoice.]

It is incredible with what joy this Edict was received by the People, and how the whole Camps applauded and rejoiced, as if they had been delivered from an invading Enemy, specially the Monks and Clergy having felt the Fathers greatest hatred, did lift up to Heaven their joyful voices: The Vulgar Men and Women danced, the Soldiers prayed all Prosperity to the Emperour: They broke their own Rosaries, and other mens as they met them, and burned some, saying, 'That it was enough for 'them that they BELIEVE CHRIST TO BE TRUE GOD 'and TRUE MAN, and THERE IS NO NEED OF 'DISPUTING ABOUT TWO NATURES, *and so they returned to the old way.*

It's worth the noting here, that the Papists way was cast out as Novelty, and the other kept on the account of Antiquity: For Habassia *never had received the Pope till the* Portugals *came to help them. Yet are they not ashamed here to call theirs the* old Religion, *because when they had banished the old, [which was simple Christianity] we returned to it by Reformation.*

Besides the Doctrine of Two Natures, *about which they saw they agreed in sense, while the Jesuites Heretica ted them, three things much alienated the* Habassines: 1. Denying them the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds. 2. Rebaptising their Children. 3. Reordaining their Priests.

This

This much being done, the Papists were by degrees soon overcome. 1. *The Patriarch is accused for preaching Sedition.* 2. *Then the Temples are taken from them, and they break their own Images lest the* Habassines *should do it in scorn.* 3. *On* Sept. 16. 1632. *the King died, and his Son* Basilides *was against them.* 4. Ras-Seelaxus *their most powerful friend is banished, and others after him.* 5. *Upon more Accusations their Farmes, Goods, and Guns are seised on.* 6. *They are confined to* Fremona: *Thence they petition again for new Disputations: The King* Basilides *answereth them thus by writing:*

['What I did heretofore was done by my Fathers 'command, whom I must needs obey, so that by his 'conduct I made War against my Kindred and Sub-'jects. But after the last Battle in *Wainadega*, both learn-'ed and unlearned, Clergy and Laity, Civil and Military 'men, great and small, fearlesly said to my Father the 'King, How long shall we be vexed & tired with unprofita-'ble things? How long shall we fight against our Brethren 'and near Friends, cutting off our Right Hand with our 'Left? How long shall we turn our Swords against our 'own Bowels, when yet by the Roman Belief we know 'nothing but what we knew before? For what the Ro-'manes call two Natures in Christ, the Divinity and Hu-'manity, we knew it long ago, from the beginning even 'unto this day: For we all believe that the same Christ 'our Lord is perfect God and perfect Man; perfect God 'in his Divinity, and perfect Man in his Humanity: But 'whereas those Natures are not separated, nor divided, '(for each of them subsisteth, not by itself, but conjunct 'with the other) therefore we say not that they are two 'things, for one is made of two, yet so as that the Na-'tures are not confounded or mixed in his Being. This 'Controversie therefore is of small moment among us:

'Nor

'Nor did we fight much for this; but ſpecially for this 'cauſe, that the Blood was denied the Laity in the Eu-'chariſt, whenas Chriſt himſelf ſaid in the Goſpel, ex-'cept ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his 'Blood ye ſhall not have eternal Life.--- But they deteſt-'ed nothing more than the Reiteration of Baptiſms, as 'if before the Fathers rebaptized us we had been Hea-'thens or Publicanes: And that they Reordained our 'Prieſts and Deacons.--- You too late offer us now that 'which might have been yielded at the firſt; for there is 'now no returning to that which all look at with the 'greateſt horrour and deteſtation, and therefore all fur-'ther Conferences will be in vain.]

In ſhort the Patriarch and all the reſt were utterly baniſhed out of the Empire. Ludolph. l. 3. c. 13.

I add one but thing (ex cap. 14.) *to end the ſtory. As the new Alexandrian* Abuna *was coming out of* Egypt, *the foreſaid Dr.* Peter Heyling *of* Lubeck *being then in* Egypt, *took that opportunity to ſee* Habaſſia, *and went with him: On the Borders at* Suagena *they met the departing Roman Patriarch; where* Peter Heyling *enters the Liſt with him, & ſo handled him as made it appear, that it was only the poor* Habaſſine *Prieſts unlearnedneſs, which had given the Jeſuits their Succeſs: And the Patriarch at the parting, ſighing ſaid to his Company,* If this Doctor come into *Habaſſia*, he will precipitate them into the extreameſt Hereſie. *But what became of him is yet unknown.*

And ſo much for this Hiſtory of the Roman Conqueſt in Habaſſia, *by the* Calcedon *Council, and the Hereticating the* Habaſſines, *about the one or two Natures, and the Eight years poſſeſſion Popery got by it, and the many bloody Battles fought for it, the Prelates powerful Oratory for it, and the Peoples more powerful againſt it;*

the

the Kings mind changed by said experience, and the Papists finally Extirpated.

And it is exceeding observable, that their very Victories were their Ruine, and the last and greatest which killed 8000, *was it that overcame them, when they thought they had done their work. And those that conquered for them drove them out, when they considered what they had done: But had it not been better known at a cheaper rate?*

This Tragedy is but the fruit of the Council which Mr. Morrice *justifieth: The fruit of a Church determination above* 1200 *years ago. If you had seen the Fields of blood in* Habassia, *would it not have inclined you to my Opinion against Mr.* M. *Or if he had seen it, would it not have changed his mind? I doubt it would not, because the Silencings and Calamities in* England *no more move such men; and because they still call for* Execution *against those that obey not all their* Oaths *and Ceremonies, and will abate nothing, what ever it may cost the Land, by the strengthening of them that are for our Division: And because the* 1200 *years experience hath not yet been enough to make them see the faultiness of such Bishops & Councils, nay, because they yet take not all Gods Laws in Nature and Scripture for sufficient to Rule the Catholick Church in Religion, without the Laws of these same Councils, which have had such effects: But some Bishops and Clergy-Men yet stand to it, that* All must be taken as Schismaticks who obey not these same Councils Decrees, *as the Laws of the Universal Church.*

And if Ludolphus *and the* Abassines *can say so much against Heretcating those called* Eutychians, *much more may be said for the* Nestorians, *to prove that the Controversy was but verbal.*

There is in Biblioth. Pat. To. 6. p. 131. *the* Missa quâ utun-

utuntur antiqui Christiani Episcopatus Angamallensis in Montanis Mallabarici Regni apud Indos Orientales, emendata & ab erroribus blasphemiisque Nestorianorum expurgata per Alexium Menesium Archiepiscopum Goanum an. 1599. *I had rather have had it with all its Errours, that we might have truly known how much is genuine. But it being one of the most Scriptural, rational, and well composed Liturgies of all there published: It would make one think,* 1. *That these Nestorians were not so bad a people as their Anathematisers would have made the world believe them.* 2. *That the Banishment of the Nestorians and Eutychians accidentally proved a great means of the Churches enlargement beyond the bounds of the Romane Empire, whither they were banished: And this is plain in current History.*

I have given you this account of my Design in both the Books, (The History of Councils, *with its Vindication, and the following Treatise.) I add an Answer to a Lord Bishop of* Corke *and* Rosse, *who hath written many Historical Untruths by his credulity, believing false Reporters. As to his and others Reprehension of my sharp unpeaceable words, my Case is hard; My own Conscience at once forbids me to justifie my Stile or Passion; and also tells me that if* making odious Gods servants, silencing and persecuting faithful Ministers, and Perjury, *should prove as great a guilt and danger of Destruction to the Land, as is feared, I cannot justifie my long Silence, nor that I use no more plainness and fervency in calling the guilty to Repent.*

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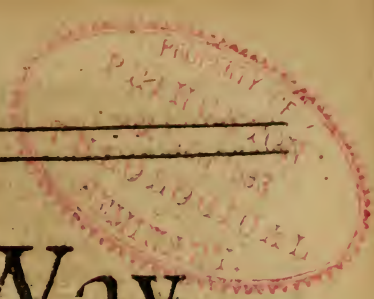

THE Ready Way OF Confuting Mr. Baxter, A SPECIMEN OF THE PRESENT MODE OF Controversie in England.

Joh. 8. 44. 1 *King.* 22. 22. *Prov.* 29. 12. & 19. 5, 9. *Rev.* 21. 8. & 22. 15.

IN 1662. Dr. *Boreman* of *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, Publish-ed a Book against me, as having written to Dr. *Hill* against *Physical-Predetermination to Sin*; and in it saith, That it is re-ported, *That I kill'd a Man with my own Hand in cold Blood; and if it be not true, I am not the first that have been wronged.* The Man, though promoted to the Charge of this Parish, St. *Giles in the Fields*,

was accounted so weak, (forbearing his Ministry, and saying he was suspended some Years before he died) that I thought it vain to take publick Notice of his Words; neither imagining whence he had them, nor ever hearing of them before.

But a few Weeks before the late *Plot* was reported, one Mr. *P.* came to me, and told me, That at the Coffee-House in *Fullers-Rents*, where *Papists* and *Protestants* used familiarly to meet; he provoking the *Papists* to Answer my Books, or to Dispute with me, was answered by a Gentleman of this Parish, said to be of the Church of *England*, That [*Mr.* Baxter *had kill'd a Man in cold Blood with his own Hand.*] Mr. *P.* provoked him by a Wager to make it good. He refusing the Wager, was told, He should hear of it publickly, unless he would ask me Forgiveness. After some time, the Gentleman came to me with Mr. *Tasborough*, (since imprisoned, as is known) and with great Civility, ask't me Forgiveness. He was the Son of a Knight, and Judge, of my Acquaintance; and had an Aunt, that had been my very dear Friend. I told him, That Slandering is so common, and asking Forgiveness so rare, that I took it for a note of great Ingenuity in him; and, as I must forgive all Men as a Christian, so I could easily forgive any wrong to one related to such a Friend of mine. He told me, He was resolved openly to confess his Fault, and to vindicate me on all Occasions.

Accordingly, at the same Coffee House, he openly declared his Repentance. Upon which, Mr. *P.* tells me, That Mr. *G.* an Aged Lawyer, Brother to the Lady *Ab.* was displeased, and said, He would prove the thing true by many Witnesses: (And, saith Mr. *P.* the Story among some of them was, That a Tinker did beat his Kettle at my Door, and being disturbed by him, I pistoll'd him, and was tryed for my Life at *Worcester*.) Mr. *P.* said, He provoked Mr. *G.* to lay a Wager on it: And he refusing, was told, [*Then he should hear of it in Westminster-Hall.*] Upon this, saith Mr. *P.* his Fellow-*Catholicks* ingenuously resolved to disown him, unless he would ask Forgiveness; which he being unwilling to come to me to do, Mr. *P.* saith, He at last performed before *Him*, and Capt. *Edmund Hampden.*

All this being done without my Knowledge (till after,) I was relating it to Mr. *John Humfrey: Why* (saith he) *I did twelve Years ago hear Dr.* Allestry, *now Regius-Professor in* Oxford, *say the like, That he could not think well of that Man, that had kill'd a Man in cold Blood with his own Hand.*

I little

I little regarded all the reſt: But Dr. *Alleſtry* had many Years been my old School-Fellow; many a time I had taught him; and he was the beſt at Learning, and of the honeſteſt Diſpoſition of any Boy that ever I knew; and I thought, if *Parties* could draw ſuch as he into ſuch Guilt, there was little Account to be made of the Reports or Hiſtory of Men, if once they fell into different Factions. Wherefore I wrote to him what Mr. *Humfrey* told me, and received from him this honeſt ingenuous Letter, which I here annex.

And as to all this Story, I do here ſolemnly profeſs, That I never killed, wounded, or hurt any Man in my Life, (ſave one Man, whoſe Leg I hurt with playful Wreſtling, when I was a Boy, and once or twice boxing with School-Boys, and correcting Lads when I was one Year a School-Maſter.) Nor in all the Wars, or in my Life, did I ever ſee any other kill any Man, ſave one; and that was at the ſame Bickering, (about Forty of a Side) when *Jennings* was wounded: While they were Fighting with him in one great Field, I being in another near the Houſe, ſaw the Souldiers offering Quarter to a Foot-Souldier, and promiſing him Safety, if he would lay down his Musket; which he did not, but ſtruck at them; and Captain *Hildich* ſhot him dead: And it proved after to be a *Welſh*-man, that underſtood not *Engliſh*; which grieved them when they knew it.

I have gone the next day where Fights have been, and ſeen many dead, when I had nothing to do with the Armies of either Part. But I never ſaw any, to my Knowledge, kill or hurt any Man, but this one.

Dr. *Alleſtry*'s Letter: (Which I ſhould not Publiſh, but that even in *Oxford*, and elſewhere among the Clergy, the Report yet goeth on.)

SIR,

I *Muſt profeſs ſincerely, That I cannot recollect I ever ſaid ſuch Words of you to Mr.* Humfrey, *as it ſeems he does affirm I did: But yet I cannot but acknowledge, it is very poſſible, that I related, (and may be, to Him) That I had heard, you kill'd a Man in cold Blood: Since I very well remember, that above Thirty Years ſince, at the End of the War, I heard that publickly*

lickly spoken before Company; and with this farther Circumstance, that it was a Souldier, who had been a Prisoner some Hours. Now this Report relating to the Wars, in which (I fear) such Things were no great Rarities, and from my very tender Youth, I having not had the least Converse with you, nor likely of any for the future, did not therefore apprehend, at present, any Concern or Occasion of inquiring, whether it were true; of which, upon that confident Asseveration, I did make no doubt. And I took so little thought of laying up the Relation, that I protest to you, as in the Presence of Almighty God, *it is impossible for me to recover, who made up that Company in which I heard it, or from whom I heard it: And I wonder, how it came into my Mind, to say that I had heard it, so long after. But however, though it be some Ease to me, to believe the late Discourses of it, do not come from my relating so long since that I heard it, neither are likely to receive any Confirmation from it, unless it be made more Publick than I have made it; yet I do profess, it is a great Affliction to me, to have spoken that, though but as a Report, which (it seems) was a Slander, (for so I believe it, upon your Asseveration) and not having endeavoured to know whether it were true. And, as I have beg'd* God's *Forgiveness of it; so I heartily desire, You will forgive me: And if I could direct my self to any other way of Satisfaction, I would give it. This is the whole Account I can give of this Matter; to which I shall only add, That I am,*

Eaton-Coll. Dec. 13. 1679.

SIR,

Your very Affectionate Servant,

Richard Allestry.

II. In the Preface to the Life of Dr. *Heylin* are these Words. *Mr.* Baxter *may be pleased to call to mind, what was done to one Major* Jennings, *the last War, in that Fight that was between* Lyndsel *and* Longford, *in the County of* Salop; *where the* Kings *Party, having unfortunately the worst of the Day, the poor Man was stript almost naked, and left for*

for dead in the Field: But Mr. Baxter, *and one Lieutenant* Hurdman, *taking their Walk among the wounded and dead Bodies, perceived some Life left in the Major, and* Hurdman *run him through the Body in cold Blood; Mr.* Baxter *all the while looking on, and taking off with his own Hand, the* Kings *Picture from about his Neck; telling him, as he was swiming in his Goar, That he was a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix: Which Picture was kept by Mr.* Baxter *for many Years, till it was got from him (but not without much difficulty) by one Mr.* Somerfield, *who then lived with* Sir Thomas Rous, *and generously restored it to the poor man, now alive at* Wick *near* Pershore *in* Worcestershire, *although at the Fight supposed to be dead: being, after the Wounds given him, drag'd up and down the Field by the merciless Souldiers; Mr.* Baxter *approving of the inhumanity, by feeding his Eyes with so bloody, and so barbarous a Spectacle.*

I Thomas Jennings, *Subscribe to the truth of this Narrative abovementioned; and have hereunto put my Hand and Seal this second Day of* March 1682. Thomas Jennings. *Signed and Sealed,* March 2. 1682. *in the Presence of* John Clark, *Minister of* Wick, Thomas Dacke. *Published by* George Vernon, *Minister.*

The like was before Published by *Roger L'Strange.*

Answ. I do not think Major *Jennings* knowingly made this Lye, but was directed by some bodies Report, and my sending him the *Medal.* I do solemnly protest, 1. That, to my Knowledge, I never saw Major *Jennings:* 2. That I never saw Man wound, hurt, strip, or touch him: 3. That I never spake a word to him, much less any word here affirmed: 4. That I neither took the Picture from about his Neck, nor saw who did it: 5. That I was not in the Field, when it was done: 6. That I walked not among any wounded or dead; nor heard of any kild, but the one Man before-me tioned. 7. That the Picture was never got from me with difficulty. But that this is the Truth: The *Parliament* had a few Men in *Longford* House, and the *King* at *Lyndsel*, about a Mile and a half a-sunder; who used oft to skirmish, and dare each other in the Fields between: My Innocent Father being Prisoner at *Lyndsel*, and I being at *Longford*, resolved not to go thence till he was delivered. I saw the Souldiers go out, as they oft did, and in another Field discerned them to meet and Fight: I knew not, that they had seen *Jennings*; but, being in the House, a Souldier shewed a small *Medal* of Guilt Silver, bigger than a Shilling; and told us, That he wounded *Jennings*, and took his Coat, and took that *Medal* from about his Neck: I bought it of him for 18 *d.* no one offering him more. And some Years after (the first time that I heard

I heard where he was, freely desired Mr. *Somerfield* to give it him from me, that had never seen him; supposing it was a mark of Honour, which might be useful to him. And now all these Lies, are all the Thanks that ever I had.

III. The *Observator*, N. 96. saith, [Tor. *Who saith, they (the Presbyterians) brought in the* King, *besides your self?* Wh. *Mr.* Hunt, *the Author of the Conformists Plea, Mr.* Baxter *and who not?*

Tor. *Prethee ask Mr.* Baxter, *If he knows who it was, that went with five or six more of his own Cloth and Character, to General* Monk, *upon his coming up to* London, *in* 1659; *and finding a great deal of Company with him, told his Excellency, That he found his time was precious, and so would not trouble him with many Words: But as they were of great weight, so he hoped, they would make an answerable Impression on him: I hear a Report, Sir,* (saith he) *that you have some thoughts of calling back the* King; *but it is my Sense, and the Sense of these Gentlemen here with me, that it is a thing you ought not to do on any termes: For Prophanness is so inseparable from the Royal Party, that if ever you bring the* King *back, the Power of Godliness will most certainly depart from this Land.*

Answ. Dr. *Manton* (and whether any other, I remember not) went once with me to General *Monk*, and it was to congratulate him; but with this request, That he would take care, *that Debauchery and Contempt of Religion might not be let loose, upon any mens pretence of being for the King, as it already began with some to be.* But there was not one word by me spoken, (or by any one, to my remembrance) *against his calling back the King*, nor any of the rest here adjoyned; but as to me, it is a meer Fiction.

And the *King* was so sensible of the same that I said, that he sent over a Proclamation against such Men, as while they called themselves the *Kings Party*, did live in Debauchery and Prophanness; which Proclamation so rejoyced them that were after *Nonconformists*, that they read it publickly in the Churches. Such gross Falshoods as these, are part of the Evil deprecated.

As to his Question, *Whether the Presbyterians brought in the King?* Who can affirm or deny any thing of equivocal Words? A *Presbyterian* is, who these Men will call such. They that in the Face of the World deny the Publick Acts of Three Kingdoms, in the Age they were done in, no wonder if they multiply the grossest Lies of such as I. The Parties that restored the *King*, were these; 1. The Excluded Members of the *Long Parliament*, the Ministers that were since

since silenced; and the frustrated endeavours of the *Scotch Armies*, and Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, joyning with some of the *Kings* Souldiers, prepared Mens minds to it. 2. General *Monke*, and his Army, who were Fighting against the King a little before, repress *Cromwels* Army. 3. The *Long-Parliament* Members restored, agreed to dissolve themselves, and set up a Council to call home the *King*: 4. Sir *Thomas Allen*, Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen, invited General *Monk* into the City, who joyning with him, turned the Scales. 5. The City Ministers (called *Presbyterians*) perswaded the Lord Mayor to this, and wrote to *Monks* Colonels (called *Presbyterians*) to be for the King: (specially Mr. *Ash*, by Mr. *Calamy*'s Counsel.) 6. The Lord *Mazarine*, Lord *Broghil*, and others of the same Party in *Ireland*, contributed their help; and Colonel *Bridges*, with others, surprized *Dublin* Castle. 7. Many of the Old *Parliament* Men openly provoked *Gen' Monk*, and secretly perswaded and treated with him, to bring in the *King* (whom the Earl of *Angleſey*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others yet living, can Name to you.) 8. The *Parliament* called by General *Monk*, (by agreement with the *Long-Parliament*,) accounted mostly of the same Party, Voted the *Kings* Return: Which no doubt also, the Old Royalists most earnestly desired, and endeavoured.

This is the Historical Truth; which if in this Age, Men will deny, I will bear any lies that they shall say or swear of me.

Now, either the *foresaid Armies*, *Parliament men*, *Ministers*, &c. *were Presbyterians*, *or not*. *If they were not*; then, 1. Say no more, that it *was Presbyterians that raised War against the King*; but that it was the *Episcopal* Men, if these were such. 2. Why then have you called them *Presbyterians* so long, and do so still? But if *they were Presbyterians*, then it *was such that Restored the King*. But alas, how contemptible, yea, how odious is Truth grown to this Generation!

IV. There is yet a more Famous Historian, than any of these, though unnamed; who pretending to militate after Dr. *Stillingfleet*, as in a 2d. *Part against Separation*, takes on him to give you the History of my Life. Partly making it my Reproach, that when I grew to Understanding, I remembred how many Drunken or Ignorant Readers had been my Teachers: Partly raking up retracted and obliterated Passages of Old Writings; while at once they perswade me to Reviews and Retractations: Partly heaping up abundance of down right Falshoods: Partly clipping Sentences, and leaving out the

the part that should make them understood, and turning true Words, by perversion, into Falshoods: And partly by mixing this known Truth, [*That I was on the Parliaments side, and openly declared it.*]

But when at the new Model, I saw that they changed their Cause, I changed my Practice, & was from the Day that I went into the Army, a resolved Opposer of all that they did, to the Changing of the *Government*, & their *Usurpation*; & was sent among them to that end; which was immediately after *Naseby* Fight: And continued openly disowning the Usurpation, and the Means that set it up. And though I was Preaching and Writing against the said Usurpers, when an Army was Fighting for them, against the *King*, and the *King* knew how to forgive and Honour them, that did so much to his Restoration; yet are the Accusers so far from forgiving those that never personally hurt a Man, that they forbear not multiplying false Accusations; yea, and accusing those Ministers, and private Men that never had to do with Wars: Yea, the same Men that then wrote against me for the Changers and Usurpers, have since been the fierce Accusers of us, that opposed them.

And if these Men be unsatisfyed of my present Judgment, I have no hope of giving them Satisfaction, if all will not do it, which I have largely written in my *Second Plea for Peace*, *for Loyalty*, *and against Rebellion*; and all my Confutation of *Hooker*'s *Politicks*, in the Last Part of my *Christian Directory*; with much more.

But this Book must have (if any) a Peculiar Answer.

V. Lately, when I taught my Hearers, *That we must not make the World believe, that we are under greater Sufferings, than we are, nor be unthankful for our Peace, and that we must when any hurt us, love and forgive them, and see that we fail not of our Duty to them; but not forsake the owning, and just defending by Scripture-Evidence the Truth opposed.* They Printed, that I *Bid the People Resist, and not stand still, and dye like Dogs.* And I was put the next Day to appeal to many Hundred Hearers, who all knew, that the Accusation was most impudent Lies. This is our present Case.

VI. The Players, I hope, expect no Answer to their Part.

London, Printed for *R. Janeway*, in *Queens-Head-Alley*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1682.

The General Part containing the Design and Sum of this and the former Book, that it may be understood what it is that Mr. Morrice *defendeth, and oppoſeth; and what it is that I maintain or blame, and by what Evidence.*

§ 1. I Have been theſe forty years much troubled with the temptation to wonder, why God ſuffers moſt of the World to lie drown'd in Ignorance, Infidelity and Senſuality, and the Church of Profeſſed Chriſtians to live in ſo great Scandal, Contention, Diviſion, and for the greater number, in a Militant Enmity againſt the Word, Will, Way, and Servants of Chriſt, while in Baptiſm they are Liſted under him. But of late ſince Experience tells me of the marvelous Diverſity of Humane Intereſts and Apprehenſions, and the deep Enmity of the Fleſhly Mind to Spiritual things, I admire the Wiſdom and Providence of God, that there is ſo much Order, and Peace, and Love in the World of Mankind as there is: And that all men live not as in a continual War. And I perceive that if God had not preſerved by Common Grace ſome remnants of Moral Honeſty in the World, and had not alſo ſanctified a peculiar People, whoſe New Nature is LOVE, the Sons of Men would have been far worſe than Bears and Wolves to one another; and a man would have fled with greater fear from the ſight of another man, than from a Snake or Tyger. But God hath not left himſelf without witneſs, in his Works, and daily Providences, and in the Conſciences of thoſe who have not ſinned themſelves into *Brutes* or *Devils*. And hence it is that there is ſome

Government and Order in the World, and that ſin is aſhamed of its proper name, and even they that live in Pride, Covetouſneſs, Ambition, Lying, Perſecution, *&c.* cannot endure to hear the name of that which they can endure to keep and practiſe; and cannot endure to forſake.

§ 2. And indeed it is a great Credit to *Honeſty* and *Piety*, to *Truth*, and *Love*, and *Peace*, and *Juſtice*, that the deadlieſt Enemies of them are ambitious of their *Names*; and though they will damn their Souls rather than be ſuch, they will challenge and draw upon any man that denieth them to be ſuch.

And I muſt profeſs, that I fetch hence a great confirmation of the Immortality of Souls, and a Future Life of Retribution. For if there were not a very great difference between Moral Good and Evil, what ſhould make all the world, even the worſt of men, be ſo deſirous to be accounted Good, and ſo impatient of being thought and called *naught*, and as they deſerve. And if the difference be ſo vaſt here, muſt there not needs be a Governour of the World that hath made ſuch a difference by his Laws and Providence, and who will make a greater difference hereafter, when the End and Judgment cometh.

§ 3. Among other Cauſes of Humane Pravity and Confuſion, one is the exceeding difficulty that young men meet with, in the communication of ſo much Knowledge as they muſt neceſſarily receive from others. Knowledge is not born with them: It is but the *power* and *capacity* of it, and not the *act* in which an Infant excels a Dog. And how ſhall they have it but by *Objects* and *Communication*? And *Objects* tell them not things paſt, the Knowledge of which is neceſſary to make them underſtand things preſent, and to come; and without which it is not poſſible to be wiſe. And God teacheth not Men now by Angels ſent from Heaven, but by Men that were taught themſelves before; and by his Spirit bleſſing mens endeavours. And when I have ſaid [*by Man*] how bad, how ſad a creature have I named? Alas! *David*'s haſte *Pſal.* 116. was not erroneous paſſion; nor *Paul*'s words, *Rom.* 3. a ſlander, when they called all men Lyers, that is untruſty; and ſo little do men know that muſt teach others, and ſo much doth all corruption incline them to love flattering Lies, and to take fleſhly Intereſt, the World, and the Devil for their Teachers, and to hate the Light, becauſe it diſgraceth their hearts and deeds, and ſo much goeth to make a man wiſe,

wise, that it must be a wonder of merciful Providence that shall help young men to Teachers that shall not be their Deceivers. There were ever comparatively few that were truly wise and trusty, and these usually despised in the World.

§ 4. And how should young men know who these are? This is the grand difficulty that maketh the Errour of the World so uncurable. It requireth much wisdom to know who is wise, and to be trusted; who can well discern and value that Knowledge in another, which he is a stranger to himself? Experience tells us, that young unexperienced men do commonly receive that man's Opinions, 1. Who hath by nearness, or some accident the greatest advantage in their esteem and love: 2. Or his that speaks most for their fleshly Interest, and for that which they would have to be true: 3. Or his that hath the last word. It cannot be expected that they judge of any thing, beyond the advantage of their senses, and the *Notitiæ communes*, according to Evidence of Truth, which must be received by long and serious study, and by willing honest minds, and by the help of antecedent Verities.

§ 5. In this therefore *Divine free Election* is very manifest; As in giving the Gospel to some Nations in the World, when most others never have it, so in giving some young persons the blessing of good Education, and Teachers, and chusing for them that were unable to chuse well for themselves; as also in blessing the same helps to one, which are despised by another. And verily when I have been long stalled with the difficulties about *Election* and *Differencing Grace*, undeniable Experience hath been my chief Conviction. If the Gospel be true, the common worldly fleshly sort, that are for Christ but by Tradition, Law and Custom, and are religious for worldly ends, and no farther than the Interest of the Flesh and World will give them leave, have no true Saving Grace at all. And the rest that seriously believe and seek a better Life, and live above fleshly worldly Interests, are in most places few, and made the scorn and hatred of the rest. And if *de facto*, God do sanctifie only a peculiar People, who can deny his differencing Will and Grace?

§ 6. I was my self in my Childhood ignorant what Teachers among such diversity I should prefer. And first God had such a witness in my Conscience, that Virtue and Holiness were better than *Vice* and *Sin*, that it made me think that the sort of

Teachers who Traded meerly for the World, and never ſpake a ſerious word of Heaven, nor differed from ſober Heathens, but in Opinion; yea, that endeavoured to make ſerious Godlineſs to ſeem but Hypocriſie, were not like to be the wiſeſt and moſt truſty men. And yet how to judge among the ſerious, which were right, was long too hard for me.

§ 7. When I came to conſider of the Diviſions of the Chriſtian World, and heard the Papiſts pretend to Catholiciſm, and call all others Schiſmaticks or Hereticks, it ſometime ſeemed a plauſible Opinion, that the greateſt Power and Dignity of the Clergy, was the Intereſt of Chriſtianity: By Riches, Honour and Power, they may protect the Godly, and keep Religion from Contempt among the worldly ſort of men, or from oppreſſion at the leaſt.

2. And I ſaw that in all Ages and Countries of the World, Hiſtorians tell us how rare a thing, a wiſe and holy Prince hath been, and how commonly by Wealth and Greatneſs they have been bred up in that Senſuality and Pride, which hath made them the Capital Enemies to ſerious Piety; if not the Perſecutors of it.

3. I thought with my ſelf if ſuch godly Chriſtians, as much value the Intereſt of Religion had lived in ſuch times and places, where Rulers were Perſecutors of the Truth, how glad would they have been to have had the Power of Church-matters put into the hands of their Choſen Paſtors, what would they have deſired more?

4. And I read that till Riches and honours were annexed to the Office, the People had ſtill the Choice of their own Paſtors, and therefore could not chuſe but wiſh their Eſtates and Lives, and all, as well as their Religion, to be as much as might be in their hands. And ſo no doubt when the Biſhops were advanced to great Dioceſſes, and Power, it was by the deſire of the moſt Religious Chriſtians, who valued moſt the Intereſt of the Church.

5. And I could not but obſerve, that though Chriſt gave his Apoſtles no Power of the Sword, he ſet them above other Miniſters, not only in Miraculous Gifts, and Infallible teſtifying and recording his Commands and works, but in ſome ſort of overſight, which ſeemeth a thing appointed for Continuance as well as preaching.

6. And I thought that if Church-Grandure were the Intereſt of Religion and Unity the ſtrength of the Church, it lookt very plauſibly

plausibly to reason, that as Bishops were over Presbyters, so there should be some over Bishops; and that National Churches should by such Government be hindered from Schism and Heresie as well as Parochial. And that Dioceſans and Metropolitans Power should be derived from a Superiour as well as Presbyters. And that when poor Subjects dare not reprove a Prince, some that are above fearing his Power may.

7. And when I read the Popes Claim, I thought it seemed not improbable, that *Petrus primus*, and *pasce oves meas*, and *super hanc Petram* were not spoken in vain. And these thoughts pleaded thus for Church-Grandeur in Prelates and Popes.

§ 8. On the other side, I saw 1. That Christ said, His Kingdom *was not of this world, and comes not* μετὰ παρατηρήσεως, with observable Pomp. And that when they strove who should be *greatest*, he reproved them, and Concluded [*with you it shall not be so*] and that the most serviceable is to be accounted the greatest; that *Peter* himself accordingly describeth their office, 1 *Pet.* 5.

2. I find that Christ appointed them another sort of work to do, even to Preach the Gospel to all Nations, through all streights, difficulties and sufferings, and to baptize, and teach Christians to observe the Laws of Christ. And that as he never put the *Sword* into their hand, so an official declaring and applying his Word to voluntary Disciples was all their Office, as ordinary Pastors to be continued.

3. I find that Christ sent them out by two and two, as if it had been done on foresight, that men would erect a Church-Monarchy: And that no Scripture tells us of any division of the Church into Dioceſſes, where one Apostle was a Monarch, or had Power above the rest, or was his Peculiar Province: Nor that the twelve settled twelve such, or any as the seats of their Successors.

4. I find not that ever any one Apostle exercised Government over the rest: Nor that ever Christ gave the rest any Command or Direction to obey any one; Nor that ever the Contending or Schismatical sort of Christians were directed to end their strife, by taking any one for the Head who must determine all their Controversies: And that they that said [*I am of Cephas*] are reproved with the rest. And that all are called Members of the Body, and only Christ the Head. And if it had been his will that *One Universal Head* or *Power* should have been set up as the *Principium*, or Center of Unity, it is a matter of so great

great consequence, that it is not to be believed that Christ would not have plainly commanded it.

5. I find that Christ hath himself done the work, for which the necessity of *Universal Humane Government* (by Pope or Councils) is pretended; *viz.* He hath made and caused his Apostles (peculiarly qualified for it) to record Universal Church-Laws, even as many as are Universally necessary: And if so, I cannot but think, 1. That he hath done it better than Man can do; 2. And that to add more unnecessarily must needs be a snare and burden to the Church; 3. And that it must be an usurping the Power of Christ: For if there be no other Universal Governour, there is no other that hath Authority to make Universal Laws. Therefore this is Treason against Christ, and a making Man a Vice-Christ.

6. I found that there is not so much as a *Natural Capacity* in any one, or many, for an Universal Government: Church-Government being of such a nature as maketh it far more impossible, than for one Monarch or Aristocracy to Govern all the Earth: And to do it by a truly General Council, or by the Diffused Bishops of all the World is further from possibility than to do it by a Pope.

7. I searcht the Councils pretended to be General, to see whether they had made any better Laws than Christ's, or made any desirable addition. And I found 1. That while they were not wholly Papists, they never pretended to make Canons for any Christians, but only those in the *Roman* Empire. 2. And that it had been much happier for the Churches if they had made no more Laws than Christ had made them, for holy Doctrine, Worship, and Church-Discipline, and had only as Teachers expounded and applied the Laws of Christ.

8. I considered the Present State of the Church Universal, and I find it such as no Party of Christians in the World doth own. The Pope pleadeth for an Universal Soveraignty, and all his Clergy do the same; some saying it is in Councils, some in the Pope, and most in both together, or Councils approved by the Pope: And Protestants, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, and almost all other Christians in the World, accuse this *Roman* Church and Claim.

The Papists condemn the rest: The *Greeks*, *Arminians*, and almost all the rest accuse each other.

9. I

9. I considered what Popery is, that is, *Clergy-Power* in its height, and what it hath done in the World. And I found 1. A woful description of the lives of multitudes of Popes, recorded by their own most credited Historians. And 2. I found multitudes of vicious Canons obtruded by them as Laws on the Universal Church. 3. I found most doleful Histories of the Wars and Rebellions that they have caused from Age to Age. 4. I found that they have corrupted the Doctrine of Christ in abundance of particulars. 5. And that they have lockt up the Sacred Scriptures from the Vulgar, as they have not done their Canons. 6. And that they have turned God's Spiritual Worship into a multitude of Superstitious Rites, and scenical Ceremonies and Shews. 7. And that they have turned Spiritual Church-Discipline into a secular sort of Tyranny. 8. And that they have most schismatically unchurched the rest of the Churches, because they are not Subjects of the Pope. 9. And that they have branded the soundest Churches with the name of Hereticks, while they are the grand Heresie of the World. 10. And that they have been and are the greatest Silencers of sound Preachers, and hinderers of true Piety and Reformation in the Church. 11. And that they have wofully vitiated the People that are their Subjects, so that odious wickedness fed by Ignorance, abounds among them; and it is their Votaries that are called *Religious*, and a few Canonized persons Saints; as if Religion and Sanctity were rarities, or any could be saved without them. 12. Lastly, I find that they have lived upon Blood, like Leeches, and have been the cruellest Persecutors of holy men, on pretence of killing Hereticks: And that it is this to which they trust.

10. I took not this notice of them upon meer prejudice, but have read, I think, as many Papists Books, as Protestants, or any other against them. Nor have I taken it upon dark Scripture Prophecies, suspecting my understanding of them: But 1. The matter of fact from themselves: 2. Against their Papal Supremacy from such Arguments as are fully collected by Dr. *Barrow*. 3. Against their heinous Church-corruptions, from such Moral Evidence as Dr. *H. Moore* hath fully gathered in his *Mystery of Iniquity*. 4. Against their pretences of Tradition and Antiquity, I fetcht my Arguments from the Histories and Authors which they themselves alledge, and especially their Councils, with the Fathers Writings.

§ 9. Seeing

§ 9. Seeing the Church in this ſad Condition, and the Papal part ſo greatly viciated, I conſidered how long it had ſo been. And I found that the Pope and his Biſhops grew not up like a Muſhroom in a day; but had been long in thriving to maturity: And I met with no man that could juſt tell what Year or what Age the diſeaſe or tumor did begin. Biſhop *Bromhall* thinks if they will abate their laſt 400 years Innovations, we may have hope of agreeing with them. Biſhop *Gunning* will own no General Councils, but the firſt ſix; ſome will receive eight; ſome but four. Mr. *Morrice* here goeth no further in his defence of them, whatever he think. Some begin Popery with *Leo* the great, ſome with *Gregory*'s Succeſſour. But it is moſt certain, that it was firſt an Embrio, and next an Infant and ſo grew up from Childhood to maturity by degrees. And the firſt Church-corruption was not that which we now call Popery. And it is as certain that the tumor did neither begin nor grow up in the Biſhop of *Rome* alone, but in other Biſhops, who grew up with him, & were his ſtrength and Councils, and he their Head.

§ 10. It is known when the *Greeks* and *Romans* began moſt notably to ſtrive which ſhould be greateſt, and how the diviſion increaſed, and when and how it came to an anathematizing or excommunicating each other.

§ 11. It's notorious that it was from the Councils of *Calcedon*, and *Epheſus*, that the great ſeparated bodies of *Neſtorians* and *Eutychians* (now called *Jacobites*) that poſſeſs the *Eaſt* and *South*, were broken off with *Neſtorius* and *Dioſcorus*, and ſo continue to this day.

§ 12. I conſidered who were the Chief Authors of all theſe lamentable Schiſms, and Church-corruptions in the ſeveral Ages when they roſe, and who continue them to this day: And I found that many Princes were much to be blamed, and the People not Innocent, no not the Religious Monks. But the Biſhops that had the main Church-power, by abuſing it, were with their Clergy the principal Cauſes, and ſo are to this day: The breaches might yet be healed in Eaſt, Weſt, and South, were it not for them.

§ 13. Finding this in Hiſtory of undoubted Truth, I next conſidered what was the Cauſe that the Biſhops and their Clergy ſhould become ſuch Church-corrupters and Dividers, and ſtill continue the Churches miſeries.

And

And I found as followeth, 1. That none are able to do so much hurt as those that have the greatest *Parts, Power, Interest* and *Trust*. None kill so many (except Souldiers) as those Physicians who are entrusted to heal and save them. If five hundred neighbours mistake a man's Disease, whom he never trusted, it hurts him not: But an unskilful Nurse or Parent may kill a sick Child; and an unskilful or unfaithful Physician may kill multitudes.

2. And there goeth so much to make a man a skilful, faithful Pastor, as that such are rare. As a Physician is like to kill his Patient, if he mistake but some one thing in his Disease, or some Ingredient in his Medicine, though he were right in all the rest: So if a Guide of Souls were excellent in all other things, what work one Opinion, yea or unskilful word may make, not only the case of the *Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites*, &c. tell us, but even the strife that arose in the Church about *Hypostasis* and *Persona*, which had almost hereticated *Jerom* himself, for all his skill in the Languages: And the case of the Greeks and Latines about [*Filioq;*] and abundance such.

3. And *Pride* is the *Heart* of the Old Man; first living, and last dying. And *great Power, great Parts*, and *great Esteem* do feed it, if true Grace do not mortifie it. Knowledge puffeth up; and especially when men live among the ignorant and unlearned, and are but half Learned themselves, and are thought by the people and themselves, to be much wiser than they are: *Inter cœcos luscus Rex.*

4. And *Selfishness* is the very sum of all positive iniquity: And Pride and Selfishness make men desirous to be the Idols of the World, and to seem as Gods knowing good and evil, and to have their *will* of all that they have to do with.

5. And the strongest temptations use to cause the greatest sins.

§ 14. These Generals presupposed, it is most clear, 1. That the remnant of these sins, even in Christ's Apostles, set them on striving who should be greatest, and made *James* and *John* desire preheminence, and also to have called for *Fire* from Heaven; and made them after Christ's Resurrection, hope that he would have restored the Earthly Kingdom unto *Israel*. And it put *Paul* to vindicate his Apostleship against many that disparaged him; As it made *Diotrephes*, who loved to have the preheminence, to cast out the Brethren, and speak evil of *John*: It gave *Peter* occasion to warn the Bishops not to *Lord it over God's Heritage*,

but to be Examples to the Flock, overseeing them not by constraint, but willingly.

2. Even in good men this fault, though not in a reigning degree, did live more in others afterwards, that had not that measure of the Spirit as the Apostles had to overcome it. And if even in *Paul*'s daies he had none like-minded to *Timothy*, who naturally cared for the good of all; for all (too much) sought their own, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's, as *Demas* forsook him for some worldly Interest; what wonder is it if afterward Pride and Worldliness grew greater, and Heresies and Strifes increased.

3. Yet while Christianity was a suffering and laborious State, the Pastors of the Churches were commonly the best men, that had more Knowledge, Holiness and Love than others, and the Churches prospered under the Cross: They that spared not their labours, but imitated the pattern set by *Paul*, *Acts* 20. did not strive who should have the largest Dioceses, and undertake that which they could not do, but they strove to do as much as they were able, and to increase and edifie the Flock.

4. But when extraordinary Gifts abated, and acquired Ones became more necessary, and few Philosophers turned Christians, able Taking Preachers or Orators grew fewer, and those few that were eminent in Knowledge and Speech were justly preferred before the rest. And usually some one man had the chief hand in converting men, and gathering a Church in each particular Town, and then he rightfully was taken for their Pastor: And it being found that the publick and private care of Souls required in each Church, where were fit men, more than one Pastor; 'It was not meet that more should be brought to him that 'was there before, without his approbation and consent; but that 'he were to the *Juniors* as a Father; And because the rest were usually below him in Gifts and Worth, it was thought but meet that they should do what they did by his consent: And also to avoid Divisions, to which they were over-prone, it was judged fit that one should have the preheminence, and a negative, and partly ruling Vote.

5. The Churches, which in the beginning had these Bishops and Fellow-Presbyters, were single Congregations: And shortly they grew to be more than could meet together in some few great Cities; Persecution hindering them from very large Assemblies,

ſemblies, beſides their want of large capacious Temples. Dr. *Hammond* thinks that there is no evidence, that in Scripture-time there were any other Presbyters than Biſhops, and conſequently a Biſhop had but one Congregation, unleſs he went one hour to one, and another to another, which was not their uſe. But doubtleſs in this he is miſtaken, as the many Speakers as *Corinth* ſhew.

6. The Greatneſs of the *Roman* Empire was prepared by God to be then an exceeding great furtherance of the Goſpel: For under the ſame Civil Laws and Powers, where one or two Languages were underſtood by moſt, Chriſtians had the far greater advantage for Communication. Want of forreign Languages is now our great hinderance from Preaching the Goſpel to other Nations of the World: And the Confuſion at *Babel* was an unſpeakable Judgment. But as Ships, yea Navies, can ſail on the Ocean, when ſmall Barks or Boats only can paſs on Rivers; ſo the vaſtneſs of the *Roman* Empire was a great help to the Church, by Communication, Language and Acceſſes: But eſpecially when the Emperour became Chriſtian, the advantage was exceeding great: Whereas now the Greatneſs of the *Turkiſh*, *Tartarian* & *Indoſtan* Empire, are great Impediments to the Goſpel; becauſe the *Barbarians* are more cruel Enemies than the Civil *Romans* (notwithſtanding the ten Perſecutions) were; and their oppoſition is the more extenſive by the extent of their Dominions; and the Chriſtian Churches having now more ſcandalized the Infidels by their corruptions. While they were not corrupted by worldly power and wealth, the great holineſs of the Churches convinced the ſober part of the Empire. *Albaſpineus* ſhews us clearly that their ſtrictneſs was ſo great, that they endured no notable ſcandalous ſin among them; yea and came very near to the *Novatians* in their Diſcipline: And that it was not for greater ſtrictneſs that the *Novatians* were condemned, but for denying the Power of the Church to abſolve men penitent that ſinned after Baptiſm. And their Canons ſhew it. And it is certain, that Chriſtians obeying *Paul*, avoided the Heathen Judicatures as much as might be, and cenſured thoſe that did not, and ended their Differences by the way of Arbitration, and took the Biſhop with the Conſent of his Clergy to be an Authorized Arbitrator; and thus the affairs of all the Chriſtians being caſt upon him, and he having no power to force any

man, but only to govern Volunteers, the Bishops were constrained to make their Rules of Discipline so much the stricter, that all that would not renounce Christianity, and Church-Communion, might be brought to Obedience to escape Excommunication.

7. God having made the *Great Power* and *Extent* of the *Roman* Empire, so great a means for the propagation of Christianity, the Christians thought that the *Greater* they grew themselves, the more it would tend to the Churches deliverance, from contempt and persecution: And their advancement lay in that advancement of the Bishops, which private men could not expect, save only by subsequent participation. Hereupon the Bishops, by the Peoples consent, endeavoured to form the Government of the Church within the Empire, into a conformity to the Government of the Empire: And they contrived that those Cities whose Governours had the chief Civil Power, their Bishops should have answerable Church-Power; the Glory of the Empire drawing them for seeming Interest, into imitation.

8. From the like Principles they desired greatly the enlargement of the Churches of which they were Overseers: And whereas Christ had made single Churches like Schools, and every stated Worshipping Church, was also a Governed Church, as every School hath its School-Masters, one, or more, by degrees these Churches were by degeneration quite altered into other things: First, They were like a Parochial Church, which addeth Chappels: They thought not so contemptibly of the Pastoral work as we do, but found enough, as is said, for many men in a Church of a few hundred or thousand souls: And when by Persecution, or Numbers, or Distance, they could not all meet ordinarily in one place, they appointed them to meet under several Presbyters, in several places, but without appropriating a particular Presbyter to each Assembly.

2. After they appropriated them to their distinct charges, and distinguished a stated Worshipping company from a Governed Church, the Bishop and his Consistory ruling all in common; and the People tyed to communicate only at the Bishops Altar, and elsewhere to be but Hearers and Worshippers.

3. After that they set up Altars up and down for Monuments and Memorials of Martyrs, and then in the Presbyters Chappels; yet so that the People were at *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and the *Nativity*,

tivity, to communicate with the Bishop in the Mother Church or Cathedral.

4. Then when Country-Villages distant had a great increase of Christians, they allowed Country-Bishops, *Chorepiscopos*, (proved by *Petavius* to be true Bishops; if they were not, Presbyters ordained.) But they must be subject to the City Bishop. 5. After this they decreed that very little Cities should have no Bishops, *ne vilescat nomen Episcopi*; whenas before that every City had a Bishop and Elders, that had Christians enow: And every Town, like our Corporations, or Market-Towns, were called Cities: πόλις did not signifie only such as we now call Cities distinct from such Towns; were they no bigger than *Cenchrea*, *Majuma*, and such others close to greater Cities, they had Bishops. Yea every Church was to have their Elders, (and consequently Bishops, saith Dr. *Hammond*) where ever it was, by the Rule of the Holy Ghost, *Acts* 14. 23. And God never said, Let there be no Churches but in Cities: Else when an Emperour would put down all the Cities, or many, he should put down as many Churches.

6. After this they set up Patriarks as before they had done Metropolitans: And it was three that they first set up (but no where out of the Empire:) And the Papists find in the Institution the mystery of Trinity in Unity: For they could not find any where Twelve Seats Successors to the Twelve Apostles; and so they feigned, that *Peter* being the Center of Unity, The Trinity flowed from him. 1. He as Bishop erected the *Antiochian* Patriarchate. 2. By St. *Mark* his Disciple, the *Alexandrian*. And 3. By his final Episcopacy the *Roman*, saith *Joh. Dartis, de statu Eccles. tempore Apostoli*, pag. 23, 24. [*Imitatur Ecclesia Deum ut trinum in Personis & unum in essentia, quatenus scilicet una & eadem Ecclesia est multiplex ratione locorum; nam distributio prima & generalis omnium Ecclesiarum fuit in tres Patriarchatus, Romanum, Alexandrinum, & Antiochenum, ut unum esset per tres Antistites Sacerdotium ad Trinitatis instar cui una est atque individua potestas ut recte interpretatur Symmachus Pap. ad Eonium--- Dicendum est quod sicut in Trinitate una existente essentia, tamen personæ differentes existunt, ita Ecclesia una est essentia, licet plures particulares existant: Et sicut omnes Trinitatis personæ originem sumunt à Patre, qui est origo Filii, & utrque Sp. Sancti, ita Ecclesia origo est Romana aliarum.*]

7. After

7. At the same time they began to describe Churches or Bishops Provinces by the Measures of Land, which before were described by the Persons of Volunteers, inhabiting near each other, saith the aforesaid *Dartis* p. 128. *Et sane diu duravit ille mos tanquam Apostolicus in Ecclesiis, ut non essent alii termini Episcopatus quam multitudo eorum quos ad fidem convertissent & baptizassent*, which he proveth out of the Canons.

8. *Rome* being the imperial Seat, the Bishop of *Rome* was neareſt the Emperour and subordinate Rulers, and so most capable to make Friends for Christians under any Accusations and Persecutions; by which advantage all Christians through the Empire needing and being glad of such help, did willingly give the Primacy to the *Romane* Patriark.

9. The Emperor *Constantine* turning Christian, and taking them for his sureſt Souldiers, resolved to raise them as high as he well could, for the intereſt of Christianity and his own, and thereby to work down the Heathens by degrees, and accordingly gave them chief Countenance, and chief Power; and their Bishops being their chief men, it must be done by exalting them. He made them the authorized Judges of all Christians that desired it, even in criminal cases. He yet gave not the Bishops the power of the Sword; but if any Christians had committed Fornication, Adultery, Perjury, yea Murder, the Bishop was to punish them by Pennance and Suspension from the Sacrament: Besides which, Christians had the chief Preferments as they were capable of in the Armies and Civil Government: So that they triumphed over their late Persecutors, And now Honour, Power and Wealth, were most on the Christians side, but especially the Bishops.

10. Worldly Intereſt being now on the Churches side, much of the World by such Motives crowded into the Church, and no man can imagine that it could be otherwise, who considers which way the Vulgar go, and how apt to be of the Prince's mind, and how much nature inclineth to fleshly Intereſt: Who had not rather be kept from the Sacrament and Communion for a crime, till he profeſs Repentance, than to be hanged or banished, or ruined for it?

But especially the Temptation was strongeſt to the Bishops, whose baits were the most alluring: And ever since then they that most loved *Wealth*, *Power* and *Honour* (that is, the worſt, most worldly

worldly men) have been the most eager desirers and seekers of Bishopricks: And while humble holy men must rather be sought to, such earnest seekers are like to be the ordinary finders and possessors.

11. But yet three things kept up for some time a considerable number of godly Bishops in the Churches, which with the humble Presbyters, kept up the Interest of sound and practical Religion.

1. Those that had been tryed worthy men before *Constantines* conversion, and the Bishop's exaltation, kept their Integrity in the main; though in the *Nicene* Council their contentious Libels shewed that we are more beholden to *Constantine* than to them, that they fell not into such strife as their Successors did. Good men may be carryed too far in Pride and Strife, but they will not be mastered by them, and turn against the Power of Godliness.

2. The People and Inferiour Clergy had the choice of their Bishops: And so (though they oft had tumults, as in popular Elections it will be) yet the worst ambitious men were long kept out, and the best oft chosen, till the People and Presbyters themselves were corrupted.

3. And divers good Emperours arose that took some care to promote the best: But alas! this had sad and frequent interruptions.

12. For the *Arians* possest *Constantine* himself with hard thoughts of *Athanasius* and his Adherents: And it could not be expected that *Julian* should countenance the best, when *Constantius* and *Valens* had done so much against them, and got most of all the Churches headed by *Arian* Bishops; to say nothing yet of after times.

13. But now two things became matter of Contention among the Bishops and their Clergy, and increased the strife from time to time. The first and chief was the Old *Cause greatly* strengthened, *viz. Who should be greatest?* Who should have the largest, fattest, and most Ruling Dioceses and Seat? The other was, *Who should be taken for the most Orthodox, and whose Explications of the Faith should be taken for the soundest*; especially about the description of the *Person* and *immanent acts of Christ*? Or briefly, 1. Jurisdiction and Greatness: 2. Wisdom and hard words.

14. Now

14. Now also *Constantinople* contended with *Rome*, and being the Seat of the Empire which they judged to be the true Reason of Church-preheminence, they at first modestly took the second place: And now the Trinity of Patriarchs was turned to five, *Jerusalem* being made the fifth. At all this *Rome* grudged.

15. All this while the old Discipline of the Church was tolerably kept up; 1. Because though much of the world had got into the Church, yet a very great part were tenacious of their Heathenish Customs, and prejudiced against Christians by their Contentions, (odiously described by *Am. Marcellinus*, and many others, and prejudiced against *Constantine* for his Son *Crispus* and *Sopaters* death, &c. and against *Constantius* for the Murder of *Julian's* Relations; and being taken with the plausible parts of *Julian*, and with the great Learning and highly extolled Lives of *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, *Ædesius*, *Maximus*, *Proereſius*, *Libanius*, *Chryſanthius*, and such others, described by *Eunapius*, &c. so that except *Rome* and *Alexandria*, for 200 years, and some few of the very great Churches for 400, the Churches were no greater than one Bishop and his Consessus, might tolerably govern by the Keys. 2. And all this while all the Presbyters were Church-Governours as well as the Bishop, though he was their Chief, and all Excommunications were to be done by joint consent; And so many Church-Governours may do more than one.

16. Then Councils called General, having by the Emperours Grant, and the Clergies Desire and Consent, the Supreme Church-Power, it was in these Councils that the Pride, Ambition and Domination of all the worldly Prelates that were too soon got in, did exercise it self as the valour and wit of Souldiers in a field of War: And as 1. The good men yet among them; 2. And the Articles of Faith yet retained by them, did cause them to do much good against some Heresies and Disorders, so the Pride and Turbulency, yea ignorance of the rest, caused them to become the occasions of the doleful Schisms, and Heresies; and Enmity of Christians against each other, which continue to this day unhealed.

17. These hurtful Contentions in Councils at first prevailed but little, and that at *Nice* did much more good (I think) than harm: And after at *Constant*: a little more hurt was done, and much good: And those that followed did worse and worse, till the proud worldly Spirit contracted Malignity, and so much prevailed,

prevailed, that for a thousand years at least the Bishops with their Prelatical Clergy and their Councils have been the grand Corruption and Plague of the Church; which many of the most Learned Expositors of the *Revelation*, take to be the *Image of the Beast*; and Dr. *H. Moore* calls it a *Heathenish Christianity*, which they have made their Religion.

18. In their progress to all this, as the Dioceses first grew up from our Parochial Magnitude towards that of the present Diocesan, so the very Pastoral Power of all the rest of the Presbyters, was by degrees taken away, so far as that they had no consenting power in Ordinations or Excommunications, unless the Bishop would chuse a few for his Council: so that the proper power of the Keys was confined to one Bishop over many hundred Parishes; and so Discipline became an impossible thing, save as it served the Bishops against some that they disliked: And so the Church which was as the Garden of Christ, became like the Commons, and good and bad were little differenced in Communion.

19. Yet because the Power must still be useful to the Bishops ends, as he sees cause, some shadow of the old exercise must be kept up: But the Bishop having not leisure for the tenth part of the labour which this very shadow required, Lay-men are made his Chancellours to decree Excommunications and Absolutions, and to Govern by the Church Keys; like a secular Court: And Commissaries, Officials, Surrogates, and other hard names and things, are set up instead of the Presbyters and their Antient Office.

20. By this time the Antient Species of the Churches was altered; and whereas it was long held, that a Church and Bishop were Correlates, and there were no more Churches than Bishops, now many hundred or a thousand Parishes are become no Churches, but parts of one Diocesan Church, which is the lowest, and many score or hundred of the old sort of Bishops, all cast out and swallowed up by one. Just as if a thousand, or some hundred *Schools* should have but one Governing Schoolmaster, and be but one School, but each part have an Usher to read to the Boyes, and tell the one Schoolmaster as a Monitor what they did amiss; but might correct none, nor put them out.

21. By this time they began to live on blood; and even as they swelled in the beginning, cruelty grew up equally with

Pride: For Reason and Scripture were not on their side, nor would justifie their Cause and them, and therefore violence must do it: They desired not the bare title of *Power*, but the exercise of it, to promote the Issues of their *Wit* and *Will*. They began with rash silencing, ejecting and deposing Dissenters, and thence to anathematizing them, and thence to banishing, till at last it grew up to tormenting in the Inquisition, and burning them.

22. And whereas (notwithstanding the petty Heresies among Christians too early) the glory of the Antient persecuted Christians was their entire Love and Concord, and the shame of the Philosophers was their discord; it came to that pass, that whereas a Heresie of old did start up among a few for a small time, like our Ranters and Quakers, who shame Religion no more than Bedlams shame Reason: Now the great Continents of the Earth have been the Seats of the millions of those called Hereticks and Schismaticks by each other, about 1400 or 1300 years. *Eusebius in Prepar. & Demonstr.* copiously sheweth that the Philosophers were all confounded in dissention (and yet did not persecute each other) but that the Christians were all of one Religion, cleaving to one Sacred Word of God: Of which also see *Raym. Breganium in Theol. Gent. de Cogn. Dei, Enar.* 5. *cap.* 8. To be Lovers of good men, was the character of the old Bishops: To be dividers, and haters, and slanderers, and silencers, and persecutors, and murderers of them, grew up with corrupters Pride.

23. And with these did gradually grow up corruptions of Doctrine, even while they pretended a burning Zeal against Heresie; and corruption of God's publick Worship, till it grew up to all the Mass and *Roman* Impurities.

24. And to secure all this against Reformation, ridiculous Legends, and falsification of Church-History, made it hard for posterity what to believe, or whom.

§ 15. Being thus far sure of the matter of fact, by what degrees Prelacy grew up to the height, that it hath now attained in the World abroad, I considered what men thought of it now at home (I am speaking yet but of matter of fact;) and I found great diversity in mens thoughts of it.

1. As to the *Roman* height, I found that the Church of *England* (since the Reformation till A.B. *Laud*'s time took the Pope to be the Anti-

Antichriſt; It was in their Church-books: Many other Biſhops, as well as Biſhop *Downam*, have written for it: What Biſhop *Morton*, and *Hall*, and *Abbot*, and abundance ſuch have written againſt Popery I need not name.

2. I found that then the ſtream began to turn, and the name of Antichriſt was put out, and our Reconciliation with *Rome* was taken to be a hopeful work, and actually endeavoured (which by their converſion all good men deſire.)

3. I found that many among us of greateſt reverence and name had laid down ſuch tearms as theſe, "[That the Catho-"lick Church is one Viſible Society under one humane Govern-"ing Soveraignty: That this Univerſal Soveraign hath power of "Univerſal Legiſlation and Judgment: That the Colledge of "Biſhops through all the World, are this one Supreme Univer-"ſal Soveraign: That they exerciſe it in General Councils when "they ſit: That every Biſhop is by Office the Repreſentative "of his Dioceſan Church; and theſe Biſhops may, or muſt have "Metropolitans and Patriarchs; and by theſe Patriarchs and "Metropolitans *per literas formatas*, and their *Nuntii the Uni-"verſal Supreme Colledge may exerciſe their Power over all the "World*: And what they do thus, the Church or Colledge doth, "in the intervals of General Councils: That the Pope of "*Rome* is to be acknowledged the *Principium Unitatis* to this "Univerſal Church and Colledge of Biſhops, and the Ordinary "Preſident of General Councils *ex Officio*. That Councils called "without the Preſident who hath the ſole power, are unlawful "Aſſemblies, and puniſhable Routs. That the approbation of "the Preſident, (if not of the moſt of the Patriarchs) is the "note by which an authoriz'd obliging Council is to be known "from others. That the Pope is to be obeyed accordingly as "Prime Patriarch, *Principium Unitatis*, Preſident of General "Councils, and Patriarch of the Weſt. That all that will not "unite with the Church of *Rome* on theſe tearms, are Schiſma-"ticks, and ſo to be accounted and uſed. That thoſe that thus "unite with the Church of *Rome*, are no Papiſts: But a Papiſt "is only one that holdeth all to be juſt and good that is done "by Popes, or at leaſt one that is for the Pope's Abſolute "Power of Governing above Canon-Laws and Church-Parlia-"ments or Councils. And that if they will but abate their laſt "400 years Innovations, or at leaſt not impoſe them on others,

" we may unite with the Church of *Rome*, though they claim " as *Peter's* Succeſſors, the Univerſal Supremacy at leaſt to be " exerciſed according to the Canons of Councils. And that it " is not the Church of *Rome*, but the Court of *Rome*, which at " preſent we may not unite with. That the Church of *Rome* is " a true Church, and hath had an uninterrupted Succeſſion, and " its Sacraments true Sacraments: But none of thoſe Proteſtant " Churches are true Churches, that have not Dioceſan Biſhops; " nor any of their Paſtors true Miniſters of Chriſt, who have not " Dioceſan Epiſcopal Ordination; nor any that have ſuch, unleſs " it hath as ſuch been conveyed down from the Apoſtles by un- " interrupted Succeſſion by ſuch Dioceſans. That ſuch men have " no true Sacraments, God not owning what is done by any not " ſo ordained: That therefore they have no Covenant-promiſe " of, or right to Pardon and Salvation, becauſe ſuch right is " given only by the Sacrament: That therefore all ſuch Pro- " teſtants Sacraments are but nullities, and a prophanation of " holy things: And that the Holy Ghoſt being the Inſtituter of " theſe ſacred things, it is the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to under- " take and exerciſe the Miniſtry, & celebrate Sacraments without " ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſſive Ordination. That an Ordained " Miniſter, hath no more power than was intended him by his " Ordainers: That in ſuch Presbyterians, or Epiſcopal Churches, " which have their power from the Ordainers, and ſo far for want " of Succeſſion, are nullities; it is ſafe for men (as *e. g.* in *France*) " to be rather of the *Roman* Church than theirs.

§ 16. And as I found this Doctrine in the aſcendent in *England*, ſo I met with ſuch as were for uſing Proteſtants accordingly, even for the ſilencing of them by thouſands, if they would not ſwear, profeſs, promiſe, and do all that —— And for uſing the People accordingly. And abating neither big nor little, an Oath or a Ceremony to unite or ſave them. And I lived in an Age where theſe things were no idle ſpeculations.

§ 17. Being thus far ſure of the Matter of Fact, I ſtudied as well as I was able to know which of theſe waies was right: And I ſaw that either Popery that is, the Popes univerſal Headſhip or Government is of Divine Inſtitution, or elſs it is a heinous Uſurpation, and formeth a ſort of Church which is not on any pretence of Concord to be owned. And as to the firſt I have ſaid before and in many Books what I have to ſay againſt it; which

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is all summed up in Doctor *Iz. Barrow*, and Doctor *H. Moore*, and largely told the world by *Chamier*, *Sadeel*, *Whitaker*, *Jewel*, *Usher*, *Morton*, *White*, *Chillingworth*, *Crakenthorne*, and abundance more. And I thought it strange if either Papacy, or that Tympanite of the Clergy which tended to it, were of God, that the Persons should be ordinarily so bad, and it should introduce so great mischief in doctrine, worship and practice over the Christian world, and bring the Church into such a divided and polluted state, and that as the Clergy swelled the Body should pine away, and the Spirit of holiness and Love be turned into the Skelleton of Ceremony and Formality, and into hatred, cruelty, and tearing and tormenting pains.

§ 18. Upon all such thoughts I concluded in these resolutions; 1. That I must not accuse any Office made by God, for mens abuse of it. 2. Nor must I accuse the good for the faults of the bad. 3. Nor Confound the Office it self, with its disease, and the accidental Tympanite. 4. Nor aggravate humane infirmities in good men, as if they were the crimes of malignant Enemies. 5. Much less lay any of the blame on Christianity or Piety, when nothing in the world is so much against all these Evils, nor would they have been so far limited, restrained or resisted, had it not been for that Christianity and Piety that was kept up against it; nor is there any other cure of it. It is not by Religion, but for want of more true and serious Religion, that all these mischiefs have so lamentably prevailed.

§ 19. I therefore resolving to avoid extreams, concluded thus; 1. That it is most certain that Christ is the only Head of the Church.

2. And that as such he himself did make universal Laws, and will be the final universal Judge, and there is no other that hath universal Legislative and Judicial Power but he.

3. As such he instituted necessary Church-Officers; first, extraordinary ones to be his Instruments in Legislation, as *Moses* was to the Jews, giving them his Spirit extraordinarily for that use, to bring all that he taught them to their remembrance, and guide them to deliver and record all his Commands: And ordinary Ministers (as the Priests and Levites to the Jews) to teach and apply these Commands, or universal Laws, to the end of the World, but not to add, diminish or alter them.

4. That the formal Essence of this continued Sacred Ministry consisteth

consisteth in a derived *Power* and *Obligation* in subordination to Christ as Prophet, Priest and King, to Teach, to Guide the Churches in holy Worship, and to Rule them by the Pastoral Power, which maketh them Ministerial Judges of mens capacity for Church-Communion; but they have as such no forcing power of the Sword.

5. That there are two sorts of these Ministers accidentally distinguished: 1. Such as are only ordained to the Ministry in general, and not specially related to any one particular Church more than other; whose work is to do their best to Teach Infidels, and baptize them, and gather Churches, and occasionally to Officiate orderly in such Churches where they come as need their help. 2. Those that have moreover an additional call to be the stated Pastors, Overseers or Guides of particular Churches as fixed Officers of Christ. All which have the three foresaid Essentials of the Office, to Teach, Worship and Rule.

6. That the Office of these men is to be performed by themselves, and no Lay-man may do any Essential part of them by their deligation, and therefore (as in Physicians, Tutors, &c.) necessary Personal abilities are as essential as the necessary *dispositio materiæ* is *ad receptionem alicujus formæ*. And *ex quovis ligno non fit mercurius*.

7. That it is very much, and great, and most important work, which these Ministers have to do. To Preach God's Word understandingly, faithfully, constantly, fervently; to resolve the doubtful, to reprove the scandalous, to persuade the obstinate, to confute gainsayers, to comfort the sad, and strengthen the weak, particularly as there is occasion. To visit the sick, Catechize, Baptize, besides all acts of publick Government. Therefore one man cannot possibly do all this for too great a number of souls, but great Congregations must have many Ministers: And so they had in the Primitive Church, where the most able Speakers preacht usually in publick, and the rest did more of the personal and more private work.

8. And whereas it was very early that most single Churches had one that had a preheminence amongst the rest (not as of another Office, but as a President in a Colledge of Philosophers, Physicians or Divine Students, to be a Governour over those of his own profession, by moderate Guidance,) and it is not unmeet, that when one worthy Teacher hath gathered a Church,

and

and brought up younger Christians to Ministerial abilities, that they when they are ordained should take him for their Father, I will never gainsay such an Episcopacy in single Churches (that is, societies of Christians combined for personal Communion in Doctrine, Worship and Holy living under such Pastors as aforesaid.)

9. And because I find that the Apostles and Evangelists had a Ministerial care of many Churches to teach, reprove, exhort the Pastors and People; And though the Apostles extraordinary power and work ceased, yet *Church-Oversight* as well as Preaching being an ordinary continued work; and when I find Christ hath instituted some Teachers over many Churches, I dare not say that he hath repealed this till I can prove it. And the nature of the thing tells us, that if some grave holy men have the care of counselling and warning and reproving the Ministers of many Churches who are below them in parts and worth; It may do much good and can do no harm to the Churches, while they have no power of force or tyranny, Therefore I resolved never to speak or do any thing against such Bishops of Bishops, though Diocesan.

§. 20. Thus far I have oft declared my self for Episcopacy: But finding in all the aforesaid History, how the Church came to the woful State that it hath been in these 1200 years, and what it suffereth by the Bishops and their Clergy in almost all parts of the Christian World; and that even the *English* Dioceſans can endure no more Parochial Pastoral Discipline than they do, (I mean such as *Bucer in Script. Anglic.* prest so vehemently on King *Edw.* and the Bishops) and that they cannot contentedly hold their Lordships, Wealth and Honours, without silencing and ruining Two thousand such as I, or better; and using many thousands of godly Christians as they do; and finding that I and such others are accused as being disobedient to them---- and for not swearing and covenanting never to endeavour any alteration of their present Church-Government, and all excommunicate by the Canon that say there is any thing in it (even from the Archdeacon downward to [*the rest in Office*] *repugnant to the Word of God*) I took it at last to be my duty to give the Reasons of my dissent in a full Treatise of Episcopacy.

And because I perceived young men and strangers to former times, deceived by the general noise, *How Antient and Univer-*

Universal Episcopacy hath been; as if all that is called *Episcopacy* were but one and the same thing; or as if we were against the Primitive Episcopacy; therefore I suddenly (and too hastily for want of time,) bestowed a few weeks in summing up the Heads of the History of Bishops and Councils, out of a few Historians which were most common, next at hand, and of most credit with those whose faults I opened: That it might be truly known *How much the tumified degenerate sort of Prelacy had caused the Divisions and Calamities of the Church.*

§ 21. For this Mr. *Morrice* (as fame saith) and many more are so greatly offended with me, and say of me herein what they do. And on pretence of *Vindicating* the *Primitive Church* which untruly implyeth that I who vindicated it against corrupters did oppose it) he defendeth the corruptions and sinful miscarriages and diseases of the Prelates: And this he doth, 1. By striving to make me contemptible as *unlearned*, as if that would excuse the sins which I rehearse and lament: He findeth in one place through mythaste and heedlesness, a word of *Theodorer* misplaced, and the word [*Calami*] translated *Quills*, which he thinks should be *Reeds*; and one or two more such; as if he prevaricated, and had a design to extol the Book, which he finds no more and greater fault in, than he really hath done. And he proveth it likely that I never saw the Histories that stood by me near twenty years, because the Printer put a Comma between [*Marquardus*] and [*Freherus*] (I think there are a dozen Comma's misplaced in my whole Book;) when he himself saith of his own Book [*The faults that have escaped are almost infinite.*] But of these things more anon.

2. He loudly and frequently chargeth me with malicious falsifying History; and when he cometh to the proof, I have shewed you who the falsifier is.

3. The great thing I am accused of, is making the Bishops more the causes of Heresie, Schism and Violence, than they were: And of that I have said nothing, but what I think I have fully proved: And let the Reader judge by this following Catalogue.

Domineering Pride hath been the chief cause of Heresies and Schisms, especially working in the Clergy to tumid Prelacy and Tyranny.

1. I before noted how the Apostles began to strive who should be greatest, till the effusion of the Spirit after Christs rebukes had

had cured them. And what tiranny *Diotrephes* used through love of Preheminence.

II. If the doubtful stories of *Simon Magus* be true, his tumor was more than Papal; And *Epiphanius* makes *Menander*, *Saturnilus*, *Basilides*, to be but his Off-spring. The Original of the *Nicolaitans* and *Gnosticks* (who *Epiphanius* saith, had ensnared himselfonce) is utterly uncertain; *Carpocras*, *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, *Valentinus*, *Secundus*, *Ptolomæus*, were all but Birds of the same *Gnosticks* Nest, a crazed sort of men that mingled Christianity, Platonism, and Magical Imaginations; and what they were themselves, is not known: Such was *Marcus*, *Colarbasus*, *Heracleon*, the *Ophitæ*, the *Cainites*, the *Sethians*, *Cerdo*; *Marcion* was a Bishop's Son cast out for vice; and *Lucian*, *Apelles* and *Severus* his Off-spring, the Heads of their little Sects; whether Bishops or not, is unknown. What kind of Hereticks *Tertullian*, *Tatianus*, and *Origen* were, and how many faults as foul *Lactantius*, and many not numbered with Hereticks have, is well known: And among all these in those early daies, till there were Popes and Diocesans (such as now) in the world, none such could be Hereticks.

III. Many Councils contended about the time of *Easter*, and *Victor* with one part of Bishops, excommunicated *Polycrates* and the *Arian* Bishops; while, as *Socrates* and *Sozomen* tell us, the Churches that left it indifferent had peace.

IV. A Council of the best Bishops at *Carthage* decreed Rebaptizing.

V. A Council of the Bishops of *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, &c, at *Iconium*, for Rebaptizing those Baptized by Hereticks: And *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* excommunicated them all.

VI. A Council at *Synadis*, and divers others decreed the same Rebaptizing.

VII. Divers more *African* Councils of good Bishops with *Cyprian*, decree the same, whom *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* condemneth.

VIII. Divers Bishops are said to be *Sabellian* Hereticks.

IX. *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch* was a Heretick.

X. The Council of Bishops at *Cirta* in *Numidia* under *Secundus* Mr. *M.* calls worse than I do.

XI. A *Carthage* Council of 70 Bishops *An.* 306. set up the *Donatists* Schism, striving for the preheminence, who should be Bishop of *Carthage*.

XII. *An.* 308. Another *Donatists* Council had 270 Bishops. Many more Councils they had.

XIII. The first General Council at *Nice* we honour, and assent to its Creed: But thank *Constantine* for burning all their Libels, and keeping peace by his presence and speech.

XIV. The Schism made by *Meletius* and *Peter*, Bishops, is well known.

XV. The Heresie of *Arius* (a Presbyter that would have been a Prelate) quickly infected *Eusebius Nicomed.* if not *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, and divers other Bishops.

XVI. *Epiphanius* saith, that *Audius* was driven to his Heresie by being long abused, beaten, and at last excommunicated for reproving the Bishops and Priests for their Covetousness, Luxury, and other sins: And so he became a Bishop himself.

XVII. *Eusebius Nicom.* made Bishop of *Constantinople* (whom you tell us *Valesius* thinks was no Heretick) hired a Whore at *Antioch*, to father her Child on *Eustathius* the Bishop there, and got more Bishops to depose him, and the Emperour to banish him.

XVIII. A Council of Bishops at *Tyre* unjustly condemn and persecute *Athanasius.*

XIX. Three Bishops (saith Mr. *M.* overcome with too much Wine and persuasion) ordained *Novatian* falsly Bishop of *Rome* (before this aforementioned.)

XX. A Council at *Jerusalem An.* 335. tryed and approved *Arius* Faith, and restored him.

XXI. A Council at *Constantinople* condemned *Marcellus Ancyranus*, and *Athanasius*, and justified *Arius.*

XXII. A Council of near 100 Bishops at *Antioch*, 36 being *Arians*, deposed *Athanasius.*

XXIII. Another Council at *Antioch* make a new Creed without [ὁμοούσιον.]

XXIV. A Council of 376 Bishops at *Sardica*, decree Appeals to *Rome*, which *Augustin* and the *African* Bishops were against.

XXV. The *Semi-Arian* Bishops went to *Philippopolis*, and condemned such as the other at *Sardica* had absolved, but cast out [ὁμοούσιον] as not scriptural, and cast dreadful accusations on *Athanasius*, *Paulus C. P.* and *Marcellus.*

XXVI. *An.* 350. A Council at *Milan* received *Ursacius* and *Valens*, *Arians.*

XXVII. *Stephen*

XXVII. *Stephen* an *Arian* Bishop hired a Whore to go in to Bishop *Euphratas*; and this *Euphratas* after turned *Photinian*.

XXVIII. *An.* 353. A Council at *Arles* condemn *Athanasius*.

XXIX. *An.* 355. A General Council at *Milan* of above 300 Western Bishops (though the Eastern that were most *Arian* could not come) where *Athanasius* was condemned, and communion with the *Arians* subscribed.

XXX. *An.* 356. A Council at *Byterris* condemned and banished *Hilary*, and condemned them as Separatists or Schismaticks that renounced the *Arian* Communion.

XXXI. A General Council at *Sirmium* of 300 Western Bishops besides the Eastern, made three different Creeds, condemned *Athanasius*, left out the word [Substance] made *P. Liberius*, and old *Osius* subscribe against *Athanasius*.

XXXII. The Oriental Bishops at *Ancyra* were only for [ὁμοίωσις] and not [ὁμοούσιος] and with *Macedonius* against the Godhead of the Holy Ghost.

XXXIII. A General Council 400 Bishops met at *Ariminum*; of whom most at first were Orthodox; but after when the Emperour interposed, subscribed to the *Arian* Party.

XXXIV. The rest sate at *Seleucia*, and were more Orthodox, but divided into *Acacians*, who were for leaving out [*Substance*] and *Semi-Arians*, who were for [*Like Substance.*] *Sulp. Severus* tells us, that many Bishops quieted their Consciences by [*subscribing in their own sense*] and so deceived the *Arians* that thought they had won them.

XXXV. A Council at *C. P.* made a Ninth Creed, leaving out [*Substance* and *Hypostasis*, The *Semi-Arians* for this banished the Authors.

XXXVI. A Council at *Antioch* cast out *Miletius*, and made a Tenth Creed, worse than the rest.

XXXVII. *Julian* Reigning, *Athanasius* calls a Council at *Alexandria*, which had almost divided East and West about the names [*Hypostasis* and *Persona*;] but that some wise men perswaded them that the words were both of the same signification; which yet was hardly entertained afterward.

XXXVIII. A Council at *Antioch* of *Semi-Arians* Petitioned *Jovianus* to cast out the *Acacians*; till they knew his mind, and then the *Arian* Bishops turned Orthodox.

XXXIX. At a Synod in *Tyana Eustath. Sebast.* denied [ὁμοούσιος] and the Godhead of the Holy Ghost.

XL. An *Arian* Council of Bishops in *Caria* under *Valens*: And another at *Singeduni* in *Misia*.

XLI. *Damasus* in a *Roman* Council condemneth *Sisinnius* for Conventicles: For at the Election in the Church they fought for these two: And *Damasus* his Party one day left 137 dead bodies behind them, and got the better.

XLII. *Valens* by cruelty set up *Arian* Bishops in a great part of the East.

XLIII. The first General Council at *C. P.* is commonly called the Second General, when yet that at *Sardica*, *Ariminum*, *Sirmium*, *Milan*, were General also: They were many good men, and did good: But how they used *Nazianzen* to the great grief of the Church of *C. P.* and how *Nazianzen* describeth them, I desire the Reader to take from his own words, and not from mine, or Mr. *M.*

XLIV. The Council at *Cæsar Augusta* did that which made *Martin* separate from them and all their Councils after to his death.

XLV. A Council at *C. P.* set up *Flavian* at *Antioch*, and a Council at *Rome* were for *Paulinus*: The former advance *C. P.* and *Jerusalem*.

XLVI. Many Schismatical Councils of *Donatist* Bishops followed.

XLVII. For *Theophilus* case I refer you to *Socrates* and *Sozemene*.

XLVIII. *Epiphanius* his Schismatical usage of *Chrysostom* is unexcusable.

XLIX. And so is *Theophilus* prosecution of him, and a Synod of Bishops casting him out, and *Cyril's* resisting the restoring of his name when dead, and reviling the *Joannites* that kept separated Meetings for his sake.

L. The *Diospolitan* Council absolved *Pelagius*. Divers *Carthage Councils* condemned him. P. *Innocent* condemned him. *Zosimus* once absolved him, and condemned his accusers.

The Bishops cast out for Simony, I will not number here.

LI. The Contentions between *Boniface* and *Eulalius*, and others after them to get the Bishoprick of *Rome*, are so many as I will not number them. And the striving of three Bishops successively against the *African* Fathers for the *Roman* super-eminence and Appeals to *Rome*, are commonly known.

LII. One

LII. One of Bishop *Boniface*'s Decrees is, That [*No Bishop shall be brought before any Judge, Civil or Military, either for any Civil or Criminal Cause.*]

LIII. What the first General Council at *Ephesus* did in the Cause of *Nestorius* I have fully opened: *Derodons* Evidence is undeniable, that *Nestorius* was Orthodox as to the Matter, though he mistook as to words, in thinking that Mary should not be called *The Mother of God*, but of *Christ who is God.* (which *Luther* also shews.) Yet since that Councils anathematizing him, a great body of Christians in many Eastern Kingdoms, to this day are a party hereticated by the rest. Is not such an effect of 1200 years continuance, a witness of the failing of that Council?

LIV. The Bishops of *C. P.* and *Alexandria* striving which should be greatest, a Council at *C. P.* decided it for *C. P.* where *Theodoret* was for *Alexandria*, and fell under *displeasure.*

LV. *Leo M.* Bishop of *Rome*, claims the title of *Head of the Catholick Church.*

LVI. Two Councils at *C. P.* one against *Eutyches* and the other for him.

LVII. The second Council at *Ephesus* is so heavily accused by Mr. *M.* and such others, that I need not accuse it more. *Flavianus* of *C. P.* was there hurt to death. Yet *Bellarmin* confesseth it wanted nothing of a true General Council but the Pope's approbation.

LVIII. A Council at *Alexandria* under *Dioscorus* excommucateth *Leo.*

LIX. What the Council of *Calcedon* hath done I have shewed: Instead of reconciling the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Controversies by a skillful explication of their ambiguous unfit words, they *Anathematized* both and banished *Dioscorus*, And ever since to this day, the *Eutychians* and *Nestorians* are separated Dissenters.

LX. At *Alexand.* the Bishops party that the Council was for (*Proterius*) and *Timothy* whom *Dioscorus* party were for, so raged, that they murdered *Proterius*, and dragg'd his carkass in the streets, and bit his flesh: And each party still accused the other.

LXI. *Pulcheria* (*Theodosius*'s Sister and *Martian*'s Wife) being for the Council, and *Eudocia Theodosius*'s Widdow for *Dioscorus*, they animated the several Parties of Bishops and Monks: And in *Palestine Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem* was expelled, *Severianus* Bishop of *Schythopolis* killed, &c.

LXII. *Leo*

LXII. *Leo* the Emperour commanding obedience to the *Calcedon* Council, at *Alexandria* and *Antioch* the Armies of contending Bishops were in continual war, calling each other *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*; one Bishop banished by the Emperour, the contrary Bishop murdered by the people, and cast into the River; the next getting the better again, *&c.*

LXIII. In *Martian's* and *Leo's* daies most Bishops subscribed to the Council. When *Basiliscus* usurped, and was against the Council, saith *Niceph.* three Patriarchs, and five hundred Bishops renounced it, most before having damned its adversaries. *Basiliscus* recanteth his Commands, and commandeth all to be for the Council, and the Bishops obey him, save those of *Asia*. *Zeno* recovereth the Empire, and is for the Council, and the *Asian* Bishops turn for it, and say they subscribed to *Basiliscus* at first for fear. *Zeno* seeing it impossible otherwise to make Peace, leaveth all indifferent whether they will subscribe the Council or not. Then the War grew hotter between the Bishops and their Armies against each other, specially the Patriarchs; all being in Confusion, at *Alexand. Antioch* and *C. P.* and no Emperour wise enough to quiet them.

LXIV. *Anastasius* a peaceable man, made Emperour, leaveth all to think of the Council as they will: Then the Bishops fall into three Parties; some for every word in the Council; some anathematizing it, and some for the indifferency: The East one way, the West another, and *Lybia* another; yea each Country divided among themselves: Saith *Niceph. So great confusion and blindness of mind befell the whole World.* The Emperour falls upon the impeaceable of both sides: At his own place *C. P.* the Sedition of the People overcame him, for their Council Bishop, which turned the Emperour more against the Council, and that Bishop and the rest.

LXV. At *Antioch* the Armies of two Bishops fought it out, and the Council Party getting the better, killed so many Monks, as to save the labour of burying them, they cast their bodies into the River: And after another Party of them made as great a slaughter. For this blood the Emperour banish'd *Flavianus* the Council Bishop: This was called Persecution. *Pet. Alex.* being dead, the Bishops of *Alex. Egypt* and *Lybia*, fell all into pieces among themselves, and had separate Meetings: The rest of the East separated from the West, because the West refused Communion with them,

them unless they would anathematize *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioscorus*, *Moggus*, and *Acacius*: And yet saith *Niceph.* *Qui germani Dioscori & Eutychetis sectatores fuere, ad maximam paucitatem redacti sunt.* Note that *Flavian* the Council Bishop for fear with his Fellow-Bishops (threatned by Bishop *Xenaias*) subscribed an Anathema against *Theodore*, *Theodorite*, *Ibas*, as *Nestorians:* The *Isaurian* Bishops yield to anathematize the Council. *Severus* a fierce Enemy of the *Nestorians* made Patriarch at *Antioch*, forced many Bishops to renounce the Council; and many to fly. The *Isaurian* Bishops repent and condemn *Severus*: The Emperour commanded out two Bishops for condemning their Patriarch: The People defend them, and force the Emperour to desist, because he would shed no blood for Bishops. *Helias* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, saw all the Bishops in such confusion, that he would communicate with none of them, but the Bishop of *C. P.* The Monks at *Jerusalem* proclaim *Anathema* to all that *equal not the four Councils to the four Evangelists, and write to the Emperour that they would make good the conflict to blood,* and went about to engage men to the Council: The Emperour commanded the Bishop to reform this: He refuseth. The Emperour sendeth Souldiers to compel them, and the Bishops and Monks forcibly cast them out of the Church. He sent *Olympius* with a stronger band, who cast out the Bishop: The next Bishops and more Souldiers had yet more conflicts after this, and the Souldiers driven away by force.

LXVI. *Felix* of *Rome*, with 77 Bishops, excommunicate *Acacius* of *C. P.* (with a [*Nunquam Anathematis vinculis exuendus*) and their own two Bishops that obeyed the Emperour in communicating. The Schism between *Laurentius* and *Symmachus*, came to blood-shed, when five or six Councils laboured to heal it. *Symmachus* excommunicateth the Emperour and Bishop of *C. P.* as communicating with Hereticks; but not an *Arian* King then at *Rome.*

LXVII. A Council of 80 Bishops at *Sidon* anathematize the Council of *Calcedon.*

The striving Parties keep up still in great Bodies, and the *Melchites* (as they call those that obeyed Kings and the Council) have one Patriarch at *Damascus*, the *Eutychian Jacobites* one at *Mesopotamia*, the *Maronites* one at *M. Libanus*, all called Patriarchs of *Antioch*, (and the *Romans* make a fourth of the same title),

title) and the *Nestorians* have their Patriarch at *Muzal*.

Of the many Heresies or Sects that rose up from the intemperate opposition to *Nestorius*, and the woful ruines they made in the East after the *Calcedon* Councils, and all caused by Pride and Prosperity, and wantonness of Wit, and stopt only by the Conquest of the *Sarazens* and *Arabians*, and how orthodox now in their Captivity and Poverty they all are, even the *Jacobites*, the *Nestorians*, the *Armenians*, the *Cophti*, the *Abassines*, the *Indians*, and the *Maronites*, see the notable words of *Brierwrod* Enquir. p. 180, 181, 182, 183. As also how the *Persian* King was a great cause of the spreading of the *Nestorians* through his Dominions.

LXVIII. The East and West were divided in *Justin*'s Reign, on the Question, whether the names of two Orthodox dead Bishops should be restored into the *Dypticks*, even *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, whom the Pope had damned as communicating with Hereticks; the Bishops of the East being for it, and the West against it.

LXIX. *Justin* turning the stream for the *Calced.* Council, the Bishops in a Council at *Jerusalem*, and another at *Tyre* are for it, and condemn *Severus*. And a *Roman* Council condemneth the three dead Bishops of *C. P. Acacius*, *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*.

LXX. So far were the Bishops yet from Peace, that *Justinian* being Emperour, headed the Council Party, and his Wife the adverse Party.

About 30000 they say were then killed in *C. P.* at an Insurrection.

LXXI. A mischievous Schism for the Bishoprick at *Rome*, between *Boniface* 2. and *Dioscorus* and *Agapetus* after *Boniface*.

LXXII. In *Justinian*'s time a Controversie arose, whether we may say [*One of the Trinity was crucified?*] *Hormisda* Bishop of *Rome* said *No*. The *Nestorians* took hold of this and said, [*Then we may not say* Mary *was Mother to one of the Trinity.*] *Justinian* sent for a Council about it to Pope *John*: He and his Bishops concluded contrary to *Hormisda*, that we may say [*One of the Trinity was crucified.*] And say *Baronius* and *Binius* [*Ita mutatis hostibus arma mutari necesse fuit.*] Faith changeth as occasions change. Reader, if thou seest not here how Bishops have broken the Church in pieces, I must not tell thee, lest Mr. *M.* be angry.

I in-

I intreat the Reader to see what I said, Hist. p. 132. of the Conference of *Hypatius* and the *Eutychians*.

LXXIII. A Council at *C. P.* calls their Bishop *Patriarcha Oecumenicus*, and condemn divers Bishops, as doth a Council at *Jerusalem*.

LXXIV. At *Rome* the *Arian* King made *Silverius* Bishop, and others chose *Vigilius* that murdered him. *Vigilius* excommunicated *Menna* of *C. P.* which *Justinian* revenged.

LXXV. A new Controversie is stated whether Christs body was corruptible: The denyers had *Gainas* A. Bishop; The affirmers had *Theodosius*; The first were called *Phantasiastæ*, the other *Corrupticolæ*. Most were for *Gainas*, but the Soldiers for *Theodosius*: They fought many daies, and the Soldiers killed many, and many of them were killed, and the Women with stones from the top of the houses, and the Soldiers with fire, continued the war: And the division continued in *Liberatus's* daies: *Justinian* was so zealous for the Council of *Calcedon*, that he murdered thousands (as they say) in *Egypt*, and yet dyed a reputed Heretick himself, being for the *Corrupticolæ*, and *Evagrius* saith, when he had set the whole world in tumult, he was damned himself. But God best knoweth that.

LXXVI. A Council at *Barcelona* Decree that Priests must cut their beards, but not shave them.

LXXVII. By the Cheat of an *Eutychian* Bishop *Justinian* was persuaded that the condemning of some Writings of *Theodore Mopsuest*, *Theodorite* and *Ibas*, would reconcile the Bishops: He calls a General Council at *C. P.* to that end (usually called the 5th) His Letters are read opening the doleful divisions, that the Churches had no Communion with one another, &c. The three Bishops writings are read: *Theodorite* charged by this General Council with that false Epistle against dead *Cyril*, and a like Speech at *Antioch*, and none vindicated him: *Binius* and Mr. *Morice* and others say the Letter is forged: I know not; But the *Tria Capitula* are condemned. And now this General Council hath made a new dividing snare. Many that were for the *Calcedon* Council feared this was a condemning of what they did in receiving *Theodorite*, &c. The Adversaries were never the more satisfyed; but saith *Binius* himself [*The end was not obtained, but a most grievous mischief added to the Church--- The whole Catholick Church was torn by Schism, and worse, the Emperour stir'd up Per-*

 secution,

secution, deposed or banished P. Vigilius: *But lest the East should all forsake the West, he recanted and consented to the Council.* Doth either the work, or the effect commend this General Council?

LXXVIII. A Council of *Jerusalem* save one Bishop, presently received this Decree.

LXXIX. A Western Council at *Aquileia* condemn this 5th General Council at *C. P.* and (saith *Binius*) *separated from the whole Catholick Church* (even from *Rome*) *for an hundred years till* Sergius *reconciled them.* 2. Were the Western Bishops or the Pope then the Western Church? So many separated, that *Vigilius* being dead, there could but two Bishops (and a Presbyter) be got to ordain *Pelagius* his Successor. But the Emperour and his Pope persecute the Bishops, and the Schism seemed desperate.

LXXX. Another Council at *C. P. An.* 587. decree that *John* Bishop of *C. P.* be called *The Universal Bishop*; which greatly increased the Churches divisions.

LXXXI. King *Gunthram* called a Council at *Mascon An.* 589. finding all things grow worse and worse, & all long of the Bishops only, saith *Binius.*

LXXXII. Even Great *Gregory* called a Synod against the dissenting Bishops, and they not obeying his summons, the Bishop of *Aquileia* was ruined (the Western Head) *Sabinian* that succeeded *Gregory* would have had his Books burnt. *Boniface* the third got *Phocas* the Murderer to declare *Rome* the Chief Bishops Seat (He to whom *Greg.* had sung *Lætentur cœli, & exultet terra,* &c.).

LXXXIII. Next rose up the *Monothelite* Controversie. *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexand.* to end the Controversies aforementioned, was told that to use the word [*Dei virilis operatio & voluntas*] would unite them all, which past as *satisfaction* in a Council at *Alexand. P. Honorius* persuaded them to silence [*One*] and [*Two.*]

But this Counsel was rejected, and now *whether Christ had* [*One* or *Two Wills and Operations*, became as *de fide*, the new War of the Bishops through the world. Some were for [*One*] and some for [*Two*] as if [*Will* and *Operation*, and *One* or *Two*] were words that had but one signification; When every Novice in Philosophy must grant that Christ's *Will* and *Operation* in some sense, was but *One*, and in other senses *Two*, as I have proved. But *Sergius* Bishop of *Const.* set it on foot, *Heraclius* being for it, and *Pyrrhus* his Successor followed it on. And *Sergius* by a Council

Council of Bishops at *C. P.* decreed for [*One Will.*]

The Opinion and the Emperour *Constans* his silencing both, are condemned at *Rome*. The Pope, Emperours and Bishops, are all condemned, and persecuting each other about it.

LXXXIV. *Const. Pogonat.* called a General Council at *C. P.* called the 6th, which condemned *Macarius* Bishop of *Ant.* and the pacificatory Epistles of *P. Honorius* and *Sergius* as Heretical, and all that were for *One Will*, and *One Operation* of Christ; 1. As denominated *a naturis & earum principiis seu facultatibus*, *the Divine and Humane Will and Operations* were and are *Two*: 2. As *denominated ab unitate personæ*; they are the *Will* and *Operations* of *One person*, and so far may be called *One*. 3. As *denominated ab unitate objectivæ* they are *One*: The *Divine* and *Humane Nature will* the same thing, so far as the Humane *willeth*, and do so far the same work: But if any will make a new Heresie by disputing whether the Divine Nature alone do not *will* and *act* somewhat without the *volition* and *action* of the Humane (since the Incarnation) they shall have no company of mine in it. 4. In the sense as the Operation of the principal and instrumental Cause are *One*, producing *One Effect*; so Christ's Divine and Humane Operations are *One*. 5. As *Consent* denominateth *Unity*, and the Old Christians are said to be of *One heart and soul*, *One mind and mouth*; and Christ prayeth that we may be *One* in him, so his *Will* and *Operation* are *One*. 6. Yea if there be a sort of *Union* between Christ & his Members, and between the Blessed in Heaven, which is quite beyond our present comprehension, it is much much more so between Christ's *Divine* and *Humane Will* and *Operations*.

And now Reader, whether it was well done to pass over these and many other needful distinctions, and to put men barely to say that Christ's *Will* and *Operations* were not *One*, *but Two*, when really they were both *One* and *Two*; and to make the Pope himself a Heretick, for one of the wisest Epistles that ever Pope wrote (I am no such enemy to a Pope as to be partial;) and to divide the very Western Church from *Rome*, and make *Aquileia* its Head for an hundred years, and to set all the *Roman* Empire in a flame, anathematizing and separating from one another, because they had not skill or sobriety enough to ask each other by such distinctions what they meant, I say, if this be wisely and well done, and be a praise to Prelacy, and I be to blame for

blaming it, then good and evil is but what every diſeaſed ſoul will make it. Mr. *Morrice* and his Maſters, that honour their *Leviathan* for ſuch works as theſe, do tell us, that they would do it themſelves were it to be done again. And let it be their work, and the reward be theirs: For my part I abhor and renounce it.

LXXXV. Faith and Salvation now depended ſo much on Arithmetick, that the Biſhops of *Spain* raiſed another Arithmetical Controverſie, aſſerting *Three Subſtances in Chriſt, his Divinity, his Soul, and his Body*, and ſay, [*A Will begat a Will*, that is, the *Divine*, the *Humane*.] Theſe things are true. But the wiſe Pope was ſo affrighted with *Arithmetical Controverſies* by experience of the miſchievous Effects, that he cautioned them much about it, and for that ſome judged him erroneous.

LXXXVI. The Council at *Trull* was one of the beſt that ever they had, yet ſhewed the Core of the Churches Plague, by decreeing, *That whatever alteration the Imperial Power maketh on any City, the Eccleſiaſtical Order ſhall follow it.* This Clergy ambition nurſt up Anti-Chriſt.

LXXXVII. A Council at *Aquileia* condemned the 5th General Council for condemning the *Tria capitula*.

LXXXVIII. Pope *Sergius* condemning the *Trullane* Council, the Emperour commanded him to be a Priſoner, and the *Souldiers* bribed reſcued him.

LXXXIX. *Bardanes Philippicus* being made Emperor, he calleth a General Council at *C. P.* where, ſaith *Binius*, *out of the Eaſt there were innumerable Biſhops*, (which is not ſaid of any other Council) who all condemned the 6th General Council, and their Decrees of *Two Wills and Operations*.

Here (not I, but) *Baronius* and *Binius* ſay [*Thus at the Beck of an Emperour, and the Will of a Monothelite Patriarch, the holy 6th Synod is condemned, and what they ſaid of Two Wills with Chriſt, and two Operations, and all retracted by the Decree and Subſcription of very many Oriental Biſhops, that were in one moment turned from being Catholick to be Monothelites.*] But do they forget the 100 Year, that even the Weſt made a head againſt the 5th Council and the Pope.

XC. Next all the World is ſet together by the Ears about Images, for which the Pope rebelled againſt and rejected the Emperour for *Charles Martel* of *France*.

And Pope *Zachary* bid *Boniface* call a Council to eject the Aſſertors of *Antipodes*.

XCI. In

CXI. In a General Council at *C. P.* 338 Bishops condemned the worshipping of Images, and swear men not to adore them, and destroyed reliques, *&c.* and decreed, that Christ's Body is not flesh in Heaven: But the Pope and Western Bishops of his Party, condemn this Council.

XCII. The *Greek* Bishops condemn the *Roman* Bishops for adding [*Filioq;*] to the Creed, and so another occasion of Schism is raised.

XCIII. The Schisms in *Italy* and *Rome* itself now grew so great and the Effects in Blood and Confusions so dismal, that I must not number them one by one.

XCIV. *Constantine* and *Leo Isaur.* Emperours, being dead, a Woman *Irene*, and her Infant Son are for Images, and call a General Council for them at *Nice*, where *Tharasius* Bishop of *C. P.* got the Bishops to carry it for Images and Reliques, and the Chief Bishops that had condemned them before, now cryed *peccavimus*, and condemned those that were against adoration of Images, *&c.* If Mr. *Morrice* call me an Enemy to Repentance for reciting this, I cannot help it.

XCV. Yet more Schism: Two Bishops, *Felix* and *Elipandus*, say, *That Christ as the eternal Word was Gods natural Son, but as Man he was but his adopted Son*: (thinking that *duo fundamenta*, viz. *Generatio aterna, & temporalis, duas faciunt Relationes, filiationis in una persona.*] But Councils condemned them as making two Sons. And the great Council at *Frankford* condemning the second Council of *Nice*, and Image-worship, condemn also these two Bishops, 1. For saying *Christ was God's Adopted Son*; 2. And that *by Grace*; 3. And that he was a *Servant*. Is any of this false, not excluding a higher title?

The Council concludeth that *Christ was not a Servant subjected to God by penal servitude:* Sure it was part of his suffering for our sins, to be in the form of a Servant, *Phil.* 2.7.

XCVI. *Binius* saith the *Filioq;* was added to the Creed by the *Spanish* and *French* Bishops without the Pope.

XCVII. One Council at *C. P.* restored him that married the Emperour adulterously to another wife: And another condemned *Theod. Studita* and *Plato*, for being against it.

XCVIII. The most excellent Emperour *Ludov. Pius* was so zealous to reform the Bishops, that they hated him, and in a Council at *Compendium* (*Compeigne*) most perfidiously deposed him,

him, and after basely abused him, even without the Pope.

XCIX. As to please his *Son Lotharius*, they deposed the Father; so when he was beaten by his Brethren, they after in a Council at *Aquisgrane* (*Aken*) deposed *Lotharius*, accusing him as they did his Father.

C. At *C. P.* a Council was called by the power of another Woman *Theodora* and the Bishops that had under divers Emperours condemned Image-worship, now turn to it again, and anathematize on a sudden the opposers.

CI. The Bishops own *Lotharius* Adulterous marriage with *Waldrada*.

CII. The Councils that set up and pull'd down *Ignatius* and *Photius* at *C. P.* and the woful stir that they made as Emperours changed, were lamentable.

CIII. Many contrary Councils were between the *French* Bishops that were for *Lotharius* divorce and the Pope.

CIV. *Basil* the Emperour writes to the Pope to pardon all his Bishops, or else they should be without, because all had miscarried, and turned with the times.

CV. A General Council at *Const.* called by the Papists, *The Eighth General Council*, condemned *Photius* again, and set up *Ignatius*, and the Changers cryed, *peccavimus*, and make extreme Decrees for Images (But they well condemn *subscribing to be true to their Patriarchs and Bishops;*) but decree that all Princes and Subjects worship the Bishops, who must not fall down to them. Other horrid Elevations of Prelates above Princes they decreed---saying, *A Bishop, though it be manifest that he is destitute of all Virtue of Religion, yet is a Pastor*; and the Sheep must not *resist* the *Shepherd*.

CVI. A dangerous Rent between *Rome* and *C. P.* what Bishop should have the *Bulgarians*.

CVII. A Council at *Metz* called *Prædatorium*, gave the Kingdom to *Car. Calv.* unjustly.

CVIII. A Council at *Pavia* falsly make *Charles* Emperour.

CIX. Another (*Pontigonense*) confirmed it; (the Pope claiming the Power.)

CX. A *Roman* Council unjustly made *Ludov.* 3. Emperour.

CXI. A General Council at *C. P.* again set up *Photius*, and cast out [*Filioq;*.]

CXII. The *Roman* actions for and against *P. Formosus*, are odious to all sober Christians Ears.

CXIII. A

CXIII. A Council at *Soyſons* confirm the A. Biſhoprick of *Rhemes* to a Child of five years old, Son to the E. of *Aquitane*. Divers other Councils do and undo about the ſame Cauſe.

CXIV. The Hiſtory of the Biſhops of *Rome* and their Councils from hence forward is ſo lamentable that even the moſt flattering Papiſt Hiſtorians mention them with deteſtation. So that I muſt not ſtay to name many particulars.

CXV. *An.* 1049. A *Roman* Council was fain to pardon Simoniacal Biſhops and Prieſts, becauſe the City was, that elſe none would be left to officiate.

CXVI. Being come into the *Roman* ſink, I will paſs above an hundred more of the Councils of this woful ſort of Biſhops, leſt Mr. *Morrice* think that I ſuppoſe him to vindicate them, or not to abhor them. Only remembering my Reader of a few General or notable things: *viz.*

I. The multitude of Schiſms, and long vacancies at *Rome*; and the horrid incapacity of very many Popes, which prove an interrupted ſucceſſion.

II. The horrid wars that long infeſted *Italy* by the Popes means.

III. The diſmal wars with many Emperours, and the Biſhops and Councils half on one ſide and half on the other.

IV. The Council that called the Emperours and others Princes power of inveſting Biſhops, the *Henrician* Hereſie, and judg'd the Biſhops that had been for it to be dig'd out of their graves and burnt.

V. The Subjecting and debaſing of all Chriſtian Princes, making them but as the Body, and the Moon, and the Biſhops, to be as the ſoul and the ſun. Eſpecially the General *Lateran* Council which decreed Tranſubſtantiation, and all to be Hereticks that denied it; And oblige all temporal Lords to exterminate all ſuch Hereticks on pain of Excommunication, depoſition & damnation.

VI. The Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſils* that were for Reformation how falſly and cruelly they dealt with *Hus* and *Jerome* and rejected the four great requeſts of the *Bohemians*, and fixed their pollutions.

VII. The Councils of *Florence*, and that of *Trent*, which had more Learned men, who yet more obſtinately managed the Enmity to Reformation.

VIII. The preſent State of the Univerſal Church throughout the World as it is divided into *Papiſts*, *Proteſtants*, *Greeks*, *Moſcovites*,

covites, *Georgians*, with the *Circaſſians* and *Mengrelians*, *Armenians*, *Neſtorians*, *Jacobites*, *Cophtis*, *Abaſines*, *Maronites*, *Melchites*: And what thoughts theſe have of one another.

And I would deſire Mr. *Morrice* to tell us,

1. Whether he believes not verily that all theſe Inſtances prove that the Biſhops have been the chief cauſe, and that by Ambition, Pride and Worldlineſs?

2. Whether it be not the Biſhops that in the *Roman* and other Parties now, are the greateſt hinderers of Reformation, and of Concord? and it would not be ſoon done were it not through them?

3. Where it is that he will ſtop in his Vindication of the Biſhops and their Councils, and go no further? and by what cogent reaſon?

4. Whether he thought he had well defended the Church-Tyranny which I accuſed? 1. By vindicating the firſt Ages, and others whom I praiſed, and accuſed not; 2. And by letting fall his Vindication (ſave a few conſequent quibbles) at the fourth General Council; which was in 451. And ſo ſeems to vindicate the Biſhops and Councils but for the ſpace of 150 years of the time that I mentioned their degeneration?

5. Whether if the Biſhops had been willing when they had the King's Commiſſion to make neceſſary alteration, or were but to this day willing to prefer things neceſſary before things hurtful or indifferent, we might not live in happy and holy Love and Peace in *England*?

6. Whether he can blame a man that believes in Chriſt, for lamenting the doleful corruption and diviſion of the Chriſtian world, and for enquiring of, and lamenting the ſinful cauſes.

7. If that Church Prelacy which they juſtly call the beſt in all the world can endure no more Pariſh Diſcipline than we have, nor can endure ſuch a Miniſtry as are ſilenced by hundreds or thouſands (than whom no Nation on Earth abroad that I can hear of hath better) can you blame us for ſuſpecting that ſomewhat is amiſs with them, and more with others?

8. I hope you will yet remember that I did not appear as an accuſer of Prelacy or Conformity, but as importuned by your ſelves to give the reaſons why I dare not take your *Covenant* and *Oath* never to endeavour any alteration of your Church Government: and that after ſeventeen years ſilence. My prayers

to

to God shall be my endeavour for these following Alterations.

1. That the Primitive Discipline may be exercised in the Parish Churches, as *Bucer* importuned the King and Bishops *de Regno Dei*, &c.

2. That to that end we may either have so many Bishops under the Diocesan as be capable to do it, or the Presbyters enabled, allowed and obliged to do it.

3. And that we may not instead of it have only a distant Court of men that know not the Parishioners, where a Lay Chancellour decreeth Excommunication, and Absolution, which the Parish Priest must publish, though his conscience be against it.

4. And that Diocesans may not silence faithful Ministers without such cause as Christ will allow, nor set up ignorant bad ones and bind the Parishioners to hear and communicate with no other. I am so far from precise expectations from Diocesans, or from reviling them, that I do constantly praise them as very good Bishops who do no harm, or but a little, and if they should never preach themselves, so they will not hinder others.

9. And as for my calling *Things* and *Persons* as they are, I hope you will not say that it was out of *Malice* that *Anastasius Platina*, *Massonius*, *Stella*, *Sigibert*, *Baronius*, *Genebrard*, *Binnius*, &c. have recorded such horrid crimes of Popes, and others also of Prelates. And is it malice in me to transcribe their History?

I am of Dr. *Henry Moore*'s mind, who saith, [*Mystery of Iniq.* p. 388. "*Hence it is plain that they are the truest friends to* "*Christendom, even to* Rome *it self, that do not sooth them up in* "*their sins, by mitigating and hiding their foul miscarriages, but* "*deal apertly and plainly with them for their own safety; that nei-* "*ther admit, nor invent subterfuges to countenance or palliate their* "*Idolatrous and superstitious practices, but tell them plainly how* "*much they are apostatized from the true Worship of God and Christ* "*into Paganism and Idolatry. Better are the rebukes of a faithful* "*friend, than the hired flatteries of a glozing mercenary.*] I pray mark this well.

10. I take two things to be the degenerating and corruption of Episcopacy.

1. When they became so *bad* that they were not *willing* to do good according to their undertaken Office. Bad men will do ill in any place.

2. When they had put themſelves into a ſtate of *incapacity*, that they *could not do the Good* undertaken, were they never ſo willing.

1. Since great Baits of Wealth and *Domination* have tempted the worſt men to be the Seekers, Biſhops have rarely been good, except under a Saint-like Prince or People that had the Choice; nor are ever like to be. And what work the Enemies of Holineſs will make by abuſing Chriſt's Name againſt himſelf, is eaſie to know; ſuch will take the beſt men for the worſt, and call them all that's naught, that they may quiet their Conſciences in deſtroying them.

2. And ſince a Dioceſs of many hundred or ſcore Pariſhes hath had but one Biſhop for Diſcipline, the work is become impoſſible to the beſt. But when a few Bad men will mercinarily undertake Impoſſibilities, and ſo *Badneſs* and *Impoſſibility* go together, alas, what hope, but of a better world above?

Saith *Luther de Concil. & Eccleſ. p.* 300. *Sed quam ſunt intenti hanc craſſam & aſininam ſatuitatem? Unus Epiſcopus nonnunquam habet tres Epiſcopatus vel Dioceſes, & tamen vocatur Unius Uxoris maritus, & cum habet tantum unum Epiſcopatum, tamen interdum habet centum, ducentas, quingentas Parochias, aut etiam plures, & vocatur tamen Sponſus unius Eccleſiæ --Hi non ſunt digami--Tam inſulſas & ineptiſſimas nanias recipit mens humana; ita permittente Deo cum a verbo diſcedimus, & omnia limatius & ſubtilius ſcrutamur quam ipſe vult nos ſcrutari.*] Whether you reverence *Luther* any more than *Calvin* I know not.

11. To conclude this matter, two things I deſire you, or at leaſt the Reader to conſider,

1. Whether it be not a dreadful thing for a man to make the Church corrupting, dividing and confounding ſins, to be all his own by defending or excuſing them, on a falſe pretence of Vindicating the Primitive Church Government, which was contrary to them?

2. Whether you truſt to Truth and Evidence, or to Intereſt and depraved Judgments, if you think men ſhall believe that you have confuted all this undoubted Hiſtory, and the preſent experience of all the woful Chriſtian World, by a general Cry that I write falſly and maliciouſly, or by ſaying that I am unlearned, or that I truſted to a Tranſlation, or *Binnius*, or that *Binnius* miſtook the year, (things that I will not turn over my

Books

Books to try,) or that I misplaced or misunderstood a word of *Theodorite*, or mistranslated *Calami*, or such like. Such Believers of you are guilty of their own deceit.

§ 22. There is lately published by a nameless Prelatist, to shew the World what Spirit he is of, a Book pretending by the description of my Life from 1640. till 1681. to prove me one of the worst men alive. To that I will now say but these few words.

1. That let them take me to be as bad as they will, so they would have some mercy on their own and others Souls, and the Church of God.

2. That it's no wonder that we differ about Antient Times and History, and present Impositions, when the main difference in our Times is, who are godly, yea tolerable Christians, and who are intollerable Rogues; and those that (as before God) by long and intimate acquaintance, I judge to be the most serious, conscionable, humble, holy Ministers and People that were ever known to me, are the Persons that the Prelatists prosecute, silence, and cry out against as the most intollerable wicked Enemies of Piety, Truth and Peace. What is it that is the root of this?

3. That this foresaid Book is one continued Calumny, unworthy of an Answer, partly making my duty my sin (as that I disliked the many drunken Readers that were the Teachers of my Youth, *&c.*) and partly perverting scraps of sentences; and partly reciting one revoked *Book*, and a few retracted sentences of another, when *Augustin* is commended for retracting far more, and filling it with a multitude of most gross untruths, of his own fiction.

4. That as to his and Mr. *Morrice* and others talk of the Wars I say.

1. That I never thought the Parliament blameless.

2. That yet on *Bilson*'s grounds I was in my Judgment, and Speech, and Action, comparatively for them while they made their Commissions to *Essex* for King and Parliament.

3. That from *Naseby* Fight I wholly laboured to have drawn off their Souldiers from Errour, and Rebellion, and Usurpation; in which I did and suffered more than multitudes of my Accusers.

4. That I never went so far against the Power of the King as

R. Hooker whom I have long ago confuted.

5. That I never ſtruck or hurt man in the wars.

6. That I will conſent to be ſilenced and impriſoned if they will but give thoſe Miniſters leave to preach Chriſts Goſpel that never had to do with wars (unleſs for the King.)

7. That when our beginning Concord had reſtored the King, the *Scots*, though unſucceſsfully fought for him, *Monk* & his Army, that had bloodily (at *Dundee*, &c.) fought againſt him, had with the Concurrence of Sir *Tho. Allen*, the *Londoners* and Presbyterians reſtored him, when the King by them came in Triumph, Honoured *Monk* and others of them, confeſt them the Cauſe of his Reſtoration, paſt an Act of Oblivion that we might all live in future Peace, I ſay, If after all this it be Prelacy and Clergy Intereſt and Spirit, that will rub over all the healed wounds, and ſtrive again what ever it coſt us to ulcerate the peoples minds, and reſolve that the Land and Church ſhall have no Peace, but by the deſtruction of ſuch as reſtored the King; I ſhall think never the better of Prelacy for this. But ask them, why did you not Speak it out in 1660 to *Monk* and his Army, or till now.

§ 23. And whereas that Advocate (deſcribed *Joh.* 8.) and you are ſtill deceiving the ignorant by facing men down with Confidence that I lie in ſaying that [*Two Epiſcopal Parties began the War in* England *and the Papiſts and Preſbyterians came in but as Auxiliaries.*] I again ſay,

1. Allow me but reaſonable leave, and I will prove it to the ſhame of you if you deny it.

2. At preſent I will but recite one clauſe in *Whitlocks* Memorials, pag. 45. even after they thought themſelves under a neceſſity to pleaſe the *Scots* as far as they could. ["*Anno* 1640. "*The Commons had debate about a new Form of Eccleſiaſtical Go-*"*vernment*, and *July* 17. *agreed, That every Shire ſhall be a ſeve-*"*ral Dioceſs; a Presbytery of Twelve Divines in each Shire, and* "*a Preſident as a Biſhop over them; and he with the aſſiſtance of* "*ſome of the* Presbytery *to ordain, ſuſpend, deprive, degrade and* "*excommunicate. To have a Dioceſan Synod once a year, and* "*every third year a National Synod, and they to make Canons, but* "*none to be binding till confirmed by Parliament.*

"*The Primate of* Armagh *offered an expedient for conjunction* "*in point of Diſcipline, that Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Govern-*"*ment might not be at a far diſtance, but reducing Epiſcopacy to*

"*the*

" *the Form of Synodical Government in the Primitive Church.*

Were not these men Episcopal? It's much like Mr. *Thorndike's* own motions saving his Opinion for Forein Jurisdiction.

§ 24. As to your first and last Chapters, and about the Antient Extent of Churches, while my Treatise of Episcopacy, which fully confuteth you, is unanswered; if I repeat it again, it will not be read by weary men. And another hath answered those parts of your Book, which is ready for the Press.

I after tell you where *Chrysostom* even in his time numbers the Christians in that great Imperial City to be an hundred thousand, that is as many as in *Martins* and *Stepney* Parishes, and perhaps in *Giles Cripplegate* too.

§ 25. To conclude, whereas Mr. *M.* in general chargeth me as falsifying History, I still call my self a HATER of FALSE HISTORY, and loath Mr. *Morrice's* History, because it is false: But if he will instead of falsifying and trifling, shew me any false History that I have owned, I will thank him unfeignedly, and retract it. But factious reproaching of good men, and painting the deformed face of Vice, go not with me for convincing proof. If I am not near of kin to *Erasmus*, I am a stranger to my self, even as *Merula*, and M. *Adamus* describe him, [*Ingenio erat simplex; adeo abhorrens a mendacio, ut puellus etiam odisset pueros mentientes; & senex ad illorum adspectum etiam corpore commoveretur. Dignitatum & magnarum divitiarum contumax contemptor; neque quicquam prius otio habuit ac libertate.*] And I think, as it is said of *Cuspinian*, [*Ratus se satisfacturum ingenuo Lectori, siquæ verissima esse comperisset simplicissima oratione mandaret posteritati: satis enim est historico (ut præclare dixit apud Ciceronem Catullus) non esse Mendacem.*]

And as to my ends and expectations, I am not so vain as to write with any great hope of perswading many, if any who are possest of large Diocess, Wealth and Power, to forsake them, much less to cure the common Thirst that corrupted Nature is possest with, and to be the means of a Publick Reformation: If I may satisfie my Conscience, and save some from being deceived by false History about the Causes of the Antient Schisms, it's all that I can hope for: Had I lived in *Alb. Crantzius* daies, I might perhaps have said as he of *Luther* [*Frater, Frater, abi in cellam tuam, & dic Miserere mei Deus:*] *Et de Canonicis κατ' ἀντίφρασιν dictis, Nunquam posse eos reduci ad meliorem frugem.*

nisi

nisi prius a viris doctis expugnata arce (i. e. Papatu.)

And for my self, none of the Intereſted mens reproaches are unexpected to me: Anger will ſpeak. I know what the Papiſts ſay of the Reformers, and all the Proteſtants: And yet I expect that all at laſt will turn to the diſgrace of falſhood, by putting men to ſearch Church-Hiſtory for the Truth.

The caſe of *Capnio* is worth a brief recital. A covetous Jew pretending Converſion, contrived with the Fryers and Inquiſitors, to get a great deal of money from the Jews, by procuring an Edict from the Emperour to burn all the Jews Books, that ſo they might purchaſe them of the Fryers. The Emperour will firſt hear what *Capnio* a great Hebrician ſaith: *Capnio* adviſeth to ſpare all that only promoted the Hebrew Literature, and burn only thoſe that were written againſt Chriſt. *Hoogſtrate* and the Fryers were vext thus to loſe the prey, and accuſed *Capnio* of Hereſie: The cauſe is oft tryed, eſpecially at *Rome*: All the Learned Hebricians were for *Capnio*: The Fryers raged the more: This awakened many Learned men to ſearch into the Cauſe, and armed them againſt the Fryers. *Galatinus*, *Hutten*, *Eraſmus*, &c. are for *Capnio*. The Fryers accuſe them alſo of Hereſie: But by this they ſtirred up ſuch a Party of the moſt Learned men againſt them, that when *Tezelius* came to vend his Indulgencies, *Luther* had ſo many ready to joyn againſt the Inquiſitors and Mercenary cheating Fryers, as greatly furthered the Reformation. And two or three ingenuous Conformiſts who have lately written againſt the violent battering Canoneers, do tell us that ſome are like to be excited by the Overdoing of the Accuſing ſilencing Party, to ſearch better into the matter of Fact and Right, till they can diſtinguiſh between an Eucraſie and a Tympanite.

Or if this world be incurable, they cannot keep us out of the heavenly *Jeruſalem*, where there is no Errour, Schiſm, nor Perſecution, becauſe no Ignorance, Malignity or Pride, but the General Aſſembly of perfect Spirits, are united in one perfect Head, in perfect Life, and Light, and Love.

The

The particular Defence of the History of Councils and Schisms.

An Account to Mr. Morrice *why my mentioning the Church-distracting sins of the Clergy, when worldly grandeur corrupted them, is not a Dishonouring, but a Honouring of the Primitive Church. And to vindicate those sins is no Vindication of the Primitive Church.*

CHAP. I.

The Reason and Design of my History of Bishops and Councils.

§ 1. THEY that know the men with whom I have to do, and the Cause which I have in Controversie with them, will easily understand my purpose. The Persons with whom I am to deal, are such as hold,

1. That a *General Council* of Bishops or the Colledge of Bishops Governing *per Literas formatas* out of Council, are the Supreme Governing Power over the Universal Church on Earth, having the Power of Universal Legislation and Judgment.

2. That among these the Pope is justly the Patriarch of the West, and the *Principium unitatis* to the whole, and the ordinary President in such Councils. And say some, It belongs only to the President to call them, and they are but rebellious Routs that assemble without a just call.

3. That there is no concord to be had but in the Obedience to this Universal Governing Church. But all Persons and all National Churches are Schismaticks who live not in such Subjection and obedience.

4. That such as the Diocesan Episcopacy which is over one lowest Church containing hundreds or multitudes of Parishes and Altars without any other Bishop but the said Diocesan is that Episcopacy which all must be subject to, while it is subject to the Universal supreme.

5. That every Christian must hold subjective Communion with the Bishop of the place where he liveth: And say some, must

must not practise contrary to his Commands, nor appeal for such practice to Scripture or to God.

6. That if this supreme Power silence the Dioceſans, or these Dioceſans silence all the Ministers in City or Country, they must Ceaſe their Ministry and forsake the Flocks.

7. And say divers of them, They are no true Churches, or Ministers, that have not ordination from such Dioceſans, yea by an uninterrupted succeſſion from the Apoſtles: And for want of this the Forein reformed Churches are no true Churches, but the Church of *Rome* is.

Much more of this Nature I have already transcribed (and confuted) out of A. Biſhop *Bromhall*, Dr. *Heylins* Life of A. Biſhop *Laud*, Mr *Thorndike*, Mr *Dodwell* and divers others.

§ 2. The firſt thing then in my intention is to ſhew that the *Roman* Grandeur which is thought to be the Glory of the Church on Earth, and the neceſſary means of its Unity, ſafety and true proſperity, hath proved clean contrary, even the means of Church corruption in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline & Converſation, the Soil of the moſt odious crimes, the means of tyranny, ſuppreſſion of true piety, and perſecution of Gods faithful Servants, and of rebellious, War and cruel bloodſhed.

§ 3. To this end I deſcribed the ſteps by which the Clergy aſcended to the Papal height: For as all Proteſtants juſtly maintain that their Corruption of Doctrine & Worſhip came not in at once but by ſlow degrees, ſo do they alſo of the Papal Government and diſcipline. And they commonly ſhew the vanity of the Papiſts demand, who ask us who was the man, and which was the year, as if the world had gone to bed in ſimple Chriſtianity, and awaked Papiſts thenext morning. Whereas it is moſt evident in all Church hiſtory that the Clergy leaving the Chriſtian Purity, Simplicity and Love, did climb the ladder ſtep by ſtep till they aſcended to the Papal height. And it's a meer dream of them that think it was the Bp. of *Rome* alone that thus aſcended, and not the Army that made him their General: As the boat riſeth with the waters, ſo did the Pope with the aſcending Clergy: Others ſtrove for ſuperiority as he ſtrove for Supremacy: The ſtriſe began among Chriſts Apoſtles who ſhould be greateſt, and who ſhould, ſit next him in his Kingdom; And though Chriſt then ſuppreſt it by his Word and Spirit, and the ſufferings of the Church took down thoſe aſpiring thoughts, as ſoon as *Conſtantine* had ſet them the

Ladder

Ladder, what scrambling was there who should climb highest. Yea *Constantinople* strove for the Supremacy it self.

§ 3. And I the rather mentioned this because I found some late learned Expositors of the Revelations, taking this inordinate ascent, for the promised glory and felicity of the Church on Earth; and taking it for the fulfilling of many of those prophecies and promises which some applyed to the Millennium, and some to the heavenly state. And doubtless *Hildebrand* and his adherents had such thoughts, and did believe that their rule over Emperours, Kings and Kingdoms, by the Power of the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven, was the true Glory of the Church, and the Reign of Christ, and that all the honour was indeed given to Christ as King of the Church, which was thus given to the Pope and the Church-Parliaments of Bishops. *Campanella de Regno Dei* doth but speak the thoughts of greater Clergy men when he applyeth the foresaid Texts to prove that the Popes Universal Monarchy is the true Kingdom of Christ on Earth, to which all Monarchs and Men must stoop.

And Nature is so apt to entertain such thoughts, especially in the Clergy, who think of it as their own prosperity and glory, that it is no wonder, if as *Venner*, and his Fifth Monarchy men, did itch to be getting up under the name of the Reign of Christ, and so did *John* of *Leyden* and his Company at *Munster*; so the Fifth Monarchy Clergy men, who can aspire more plausibly, do long to be climbing, and are very reconcilable to Papal Greatness; and where Popery is become a distasted name, they nevertheless desire their share in the Power, Honour and Wealth, and under pretence of Peace and Concord among all Christians, and restoring the Church to its Unity and Strength, they strive for much of the same thing, and think it enough to avoid the name: And the Pope shall be but *Principium Unitatis*, and the President of the Clergy or Councils. Get but the poor trick of calling nothing Popery but the Pope's Arbitrary absolute Power, and do but tie him to Rule by the Consent and Laws of Church-Parliaments, that is, set up the *French* Church-Government, and then they are no Papists. Do not the *French* Protestants deserve all their sufferings then for calling the Church or Bishops there *Papists*, and separating from so Excellent a Government?

§ 5. And it was not the least of my Motives to try, were it possible to cure their Love-killing Errour, who think that all

are Enemies to Unity and Peace, who are not for Obedience to this Universal or Superlative Prelacy, and to save us all from that confusion and calamity, which this Opinion is carrying on, while the Patrons of it think that all are to be prosecuted, silenced, ruined as Rebellious Enemies to the Ruling Church, who do not subject themselves to such a Prelacy; and that we must or can have no Christian Church-Concord, but by Obedience to the Universal Church, as Bishop *Gunning* hath over and over told me, that is, to the Universal Colledge of their sort of Bishops: Yea not only the Papists, but these Bishops among us, to this purpose repeat and apply *Psal.*72.11. Yea all Kings shall fall down before him: All Nations shall serve him. Or *Isa.* 60.12. *For the Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish: Yea those Nations shall be utterly wasted,*] which Bishop *Gunning* applyeth to the Episcopal Universal-Governing Colledge.

These are terrible threatnings, as they shew the principles and purposes of men, however they mistake the mind of God. Few parts of *Europe* have had more long and cruel Wars, than *Italy* it self, where these Principles have obtained: But the blood of thousands of sincere Christians hath been a Sacrifice to these Principles in the Clergy. When we read in Jesuites, Fryers and Prelates, sound Christians called Hereticks, and all such Hereticks called, mortal, odious, wicked, pernicious, intollerable Enemies to the Church, whom all good men are bound to endeavour to root out and destroy; when we hear our neighbour Papists say, *It is no more sin to kill an Heretick than a Dog*: And when we hear and read our Clergy calling out to Magistrates for yet more *Execution upon us*, for not obeying them against that which we undoubtedly take for the Law of God; and the nearer any man is to the Papists, usually the more he is for our destruction, and for their way of cruelty, I thought it time to try if it were possible, if not to save the Land from this consuming fire, yet at least to save some Souls who else were like to be tempted to malignant Enmity to the best and truest Christians, and to perish for ever by this deceit.

How many honest passages are in Mr. *Thorndike* which shew that it was not any worldly interest of his own that moved him; but yet the Power of this Errour [*Of a Church that was Universally One by One Ruling Colledge or Council of Prelates, of which*

which the Pope was the rightful President,&c.] which must be acknowledged by all Nations and Persons, that will have Christian Communion and not be condemned Schismaticks, prevailed with him to the exclusion of all Dissenters, and confining his Communion to those only who owned and obeyed *This Universal Governing Church*.

§ 6. And as long as this Opinion prevaileth, especially in men of Power and Reverence who take other mens belief and obedience for their unquestionable right, where can we think hatred and Persecution will stop. Will not they still think that they that kill or silence or imprison or banish us, do God service, and that the Magistrate that doth not punish us deserveth punishment from God, if not also from the Church. And they that are most for Seldom preaching, and can dispense with our Ministerial labour therein, will not be indifferent as to the silencing, imprisoning or destroying us.

§ 7. Whether we have any reason to refuse swearing or subscribing to them, and never to endeavour any alteration of their Government as it is in *England*, I have sincerely endeavoured to shew in my Treatise of Episcopacy. And if Christian Concord and Communion be so hard and narrow a thing, as that no men are Capable of it who are not of a higher form than I, as to understanding, impartiality and willingness to know the Truth, the Church and Christianity are things beyond my capacity and reach: But I doubt not but it is humane errour that would dwindle it into so small a Sect.

§ 8. Alas what Persons for Knowledge and Life can they bear with in their Communion, who cannot bear with such as they silence and ruine in this Land! And the Papists can receive even those that know not Christ if they do but profess obedience to the Clergy-Church. *Luthers* words are harsh, but I will recite them *de Concilius Part* 3. *Pag* 291. *Si monstraverint mihi unum aliquem ex tota illa multitudine qui possit æquare unum alphabetarium in aliqua erudita Schola, aut in summa doctrina Christiana, vel in Scriptura Sacra tantum profecerint, quantum una aliqua puella septem annorum; tunc illis concedam palam--- nisi quod plus callent traditionum humanarum, & Sycophantiarum: Quod valde credo, & firmius quam in Deum credo, cum me convincant facto ipso ut credam.* To this pass did the Clergies aspiring then bring the Church, when worthy men were silenced and per-

fecuted. And we are unwilling of any thing that looketh towards a differencing men ſo contrary to that which Chriſt will make at laſt.

CHAP. II.

Whether we have any reaſon to report the Faults of ſome Biſhops and Councils, from the beginning of their Depravation till the laſt?

§ 1. THat I had great reaſon for it, I think what is before ſaid will evince; when we ſee men deſtroying Chriſtian Love, themſelves, and us, and the Land, could they prevail, by their erroneous endeavour to grant no Concord, Communion nor Peace, to no Chriſtians how conſcionable otherwiſe ſoever, who cannot unite in a ſpecies of Prelacy which they believe (by ſuch evidence as I have given) to be contrary to the Law of Chriſt. To the ſaving men from Hereſie and Schiſm now, our oppoſers (and we) do judge it uſeful, to know how Hereticks and Dividers miſcarried heretofore, that others may beware. And is it not as true if Biſhops be the Dividers? And alſo when the Clergies Ambition and Uſurpation have brought that upon the Chriſtian World which it languiſheth and groaneth under in Eaſt and Weſt, is it not needful to open the beginning and progreſs of the diſeaſe, by ſuch as had rather it were cured, than the Church deſtroyed by it?

§ 2. Among the multitude of Proteſtant Church-Hiſtorians and Chronologers, how few are there that do not do the ſame, though in various degrees? He that will read the *Magdeburgenſes*, or *Lucas Oſiander*, *Illyrici Teſt. Verit.* *Melanchon* himſelf, and *Carion Funccius*, yea peaceable holy *Bucholtzer*, *Micrelius*, *Neander*, *Phil. Pareus*, *Hen. Gutberleth*, &c. yea or *Julius* or *Joſ. Scaliger*, *Salmaſius*, *Hottoman*, *Hottinger*, *Morney*, ſhall ſee the faults of Biſhops opened before this day.

§ 3. The pious and moderate Papiſts themſelves report and lament them: Such as *Clemangis*, *Pelagius Alvarus*, *Mirandula*, *Ferus*, *Joſ. Acoſta*, *Lud. Vives*, *Gerſon*, *Eraſmus*, and many other ſuch.

§ 4. The antient Godly Biſhops are they who for the moſt

part

part have been freeſt in reprehending the vices of the reſt; eſpecially *Greg. Nazianzen*, and *Chryſoſtom*, and many antient godly Presbyters have been as free, as *Gildas*, *Iſidore Peluſiota*, *Salvian*, *Sulp. Severus*, *Bernard*.

§ 5. And if I have wronged the Biſhops or Popes in this Abridgment, their own Hiſtorians, yea their chief flatterers have wronged them. One Pope angered *Platina* by impriſoning him: Yet if he be partial, it is for the Clergy, and not againſt them. But who will believe that *Binnius*, *Baronius*, *Crab*, *Gentebrard*, *Bellarmine*, *Petavius*, and ſuch others have ſpoken too hardly of them. There is no one man that I took ſo much from as *Binnius*: And what ſhould move him to name ſo many of the miſcarriages of the Councils, but the neceſſity of reciting the Acts of the Councils hiſtorically as he found them?

§ 6. The Sacred Scriptures record the Crimes of the beſt men in all the Ages of which they write, even *Adams*, *Noes*, *Lots*, *Aarons*, *Davids*, *Solomons*, *Hezekiahs*, *Joſiahs*, *Peters*, all the Apoſtles, *&c.* And it was not done out of ſpite or malice; but as a neceſſary warning to us all.

§ 7. The falſhood of Hiſtory is an intollerable abuſe of mankind: To know nothing done before our times, is to ſhut up mankind in a dungeon; and falſe Hiſtory is worſe than none. And it may be falſe and deceitful in *defect* as well as *exceſs*. He that ſhould record all that was good in the Popes, and omit all the reſt, would be a dangerous deceiver of the world, and do more than hath been done to make all Chriſtians Papiſts. You tell us your ſelves, that he that ſhould write the Hiſtory of *Cromwell*, *e. g.* or of any Sect that you are againſt, and ſhould leave out all their faults, would be taken for a falſe Hiſtorian.

§ 8. They that write the Hiſtory of mens Lives, do uſe to record their Parentage, Birth and Education: And ſo muſt he that will truly write the Hiſtory of Church-Tyranny, Perſecution and Schiſm. The end is not well underſtood without the beginning. Who is it that heareth how many Ages the Chriſtian world hath been divided into *Papiſts*, *Greeks*, *Jacobites*, *Neſtorians*, *Melchites*, &c. and that ſeeth what work the Papacy hath made, but will ask how all this came to paſs? Did the man that died of Gluttony, ſwallow all at one morſel? or rather one bit after another? And when the Clergy have ventured on one merry Cup, or one pleaſant morſel in exceſs, it's

eaſie

easie to make them believe that one, and one, and one Cup more; one, and one, and one bit more, is no more unlawful than the first. *Principiis obsta*, is the Rule of Safety.

If Papists intending the recovery of *England* to the Pope should say [" *Let us but first get them under the Oaths, Covenants* " *and Practices which we will call Conformity, and so cast out most* " *that dare not sin, and by this engage them as two Armies in con-* " *trary Interest to fight against each other, and it will be an easie* " *matter to bring the swallowing Party to go further by degrees, and* " *to believe that as a Parish Church must not be independent as to* " *the Diocesan, nor the Diocesan to the Metropolitical or National,* " *so neither must a National be independent as to the Universal:* " *And that the Universal therefore must have its known stated Go-* " *vernment as well as the National,*] Were it not necessary here for him that would save the Land from Popery to shew the danger of the first degrees.

The usual Method is not to use *Boccalines Roman* Engine, which will help a man to swallow a Pompion that he may get down a Pill, but to swallow a lesser Pill first and a bigger next, till the Pompion will go down. Infancy is before manhood.

§ 9. But the great necessity was as aforesaid, from the revived or rather Continued attempts, of imitating the fatal *ambitious* and *Contentious* malady. If Priscillians, or Gnosticks should rise now among us, were it not our duty to set before them the history of the miscarriage of their predecessours. And when men are so much set on restoring an Universal Supremacy, is it not meet to shew them where, and when, and with what success the aspiring humour did begin. If we have small visible probability of escaping, we must yet before we come to *Smithfield*, satisfy our Consciences that we betrayed not the Church.

CHAP. III.

Of Mr. M's *notice that I am Unlearned.*

§ 1. MR. *M*'s Preface Contracteth the Chief things which he hath to say against me in his book, that the Reader may find them there all together. And of these [*that I am unlearned*] is not the least. And if that be any of his question I assure him it shall be none of mine. I am not yet so vain as to

to plead for my Learning: Yea, I will gratify him (though he accuse me of being against repentance) with an unfeigned confession that my ignorance is far greater than his accusation of *unlearnedness* doth import. Alas I want the knowledge of far more excellent things than languages. I do but imperfectly know my self, my own soul, my own thoughts and understanding: I scarce well know what knowing is. Verily if no knowledge be properly true that is not adequate to the object I *know nothing*: And subscribe to *Zanchez, quod nihil Scitur*, (by such as I.) Alas Sir I groan in darkness from day to day, & I know not how to be delivered! How little do I know of that God whom the whole Creation preacheth, and of that Society which I hope to be joyned with for ever, and that world which must be my hope and portion, or I am undone. Many whom I am Constrained to dissent from upbraid me with my ignorance, and I suppose it is that for which they silence me, reproach, hate and prosecute me; even because I have not knowledge enough to discern that all their impositions are lawful (or else I know not what it is for) But none of them all can (and will) tell me, how I should be delivered from this ignorance: If they say, [*It must be by hard study*] I can study no harder than I have done. If they say [*I must be willing to know the truth*] I take my self for sure that I am so: If in that also I am ignorant, in thinking that I know my own mind when I do not, what else then can I hope to know? If they say [*You must be impartial*] I think I am so, saving that I must not deny or cast away the truths already received. If they say [*You should read the same books which have convinced us*] I read far more of the Papists and *Prelatists and other sects* that write against me, than of those that are for me. And the more I read the more I am confirmed. And when these men preach and write against the *Calvinists*, they render them odious as holding that *men are necessitated to sin* and *to be damned*, and that it is long of *Gods Decree which cannot be resisted:* Therefore I suppose they will not lay the Cause on God. I do then confess my Ignorance, of matters a thousandfold greater and more needful than those which they mention in their accusations. I confess my self unlearned: But I intreat them that tell me of my disease (which I know to my daily grief much better than they) to tell me also how I may be cured. If they say that it must be by *Fines and Imprisonment* it hath been tryed & I am yet uncured: I hope they will

will not pronounce me remedileſs and not tell me why, who uſe themſelves to ſpeak againſt thoſe that preach men into deſperation; would they but tell me the ſecret how ſo many thouſands of them came to be ſo much wiſer than I, in far ſhorter time, and with far leſs ſtudy, it would be (if true) an acceptable deed of Charity; rather than to tell me of the Ignorance which I cannot help. Could I but know needful truth in Engliſh, I would joyfully allow them to glory of being more skilful in all the Oriental Tongues, and alſo in *French, Iriſh, Spaniſh and Italian*, than I am.

CHAP. IV.

Of his Accuſation, that I vainly name Hiſtorians which I never ſaw or read.

§ 1. I Muſt profeſs that it never was my purpoſe to tell the world how many Hiſtorians I have read; nor to abridge all that I have read: And thoſe that I have moſt read I have there made no mention of, as not being for my intended end: And multitudes that ſtood by me, I never opened to the writing of this hiſtory, my deſign being chiefly againſt the Papiſts and thoſe Proteſtants who moſt eſteem their writings, and had rather unite with the French Papiſt Church, than with us Nonconformiſts: Therefore when I was paſt the firſt 400 or 500 years, it was the greateſt and moſt flattering Popiſh hiſtorians that I abriged, as *ad hominem* being likeſt not to be denyed.

I told the reader that I made not uſe of *Luther* the *Magdeburgenſes*, nor the Collections of *Goldaſtus, Marquardus Freherus, Reuberus, Piſtorius*, &c.] And the Printer having put a Comma between *Marquardus* and *Freherus*, he Conjectures that I took him for two men, becauſe I added not the *Chriſtian names of the reſt*: And he concludes that [*whoever this miſtake belongs to, it's plain that Mr.* B. *had but little acquaintance with thoſe Collections.*] For I *name ſome of the Authors therein.*

Anſ. Seeing theſe things are thought juſt matter for our accuſers turn; I will crave the Readers patience with ſuch little things while I tell him the truth. It is about 25 years ſince I read the *German* Hiſtory in the Collections of *Freherus, Reuberus* and *Piſtorius*, and about 30 years ſince I read the Collections

of

of *Goldastus*: The *Magdeburgenses*, *Osiander*, *Sleidan*, or any such Protestants I thought vain to alledge to Papists. About seven or eight years ago as I remember, I was accused for Preaching, and Fined by Sir *Thomas Davis*; and the Warrant was sent by him to Sir *Edm. Bury Godfrey* to levy it on me by Distress: I had no way to avoid it but *bona fide*, to make away all that I had: Among the rest I made away my Library, only borrowing part of it for my use. I purposed to have given it almost all to *Cambridge* in *New-England*: But Mr. *Knowles* (yet living) who knew their Library, told me that Sir *Kenelme Digby* had already given them the Fathers, Councils and Schoolmen, but it was History and Commentators which they wanted. Whereupon I sent them some of my Commentators, and some Historians among which were *Freherus*, *Reuberus* and *Pistorius* Collections, and *Nauclerus*, *Sabellicus*, *Thuanus*, *Jos. Scaliger de Emendat. Temp.* &c; But *Goldastus* I kept by me (as borrowed) and many more which I could not spare; and the Fathers and Councils and Schoolmen I was stopt from sending. Now whether I was unacquainted with those that partly stand yet at my Elbow, and which I had read so long ago, must depend on the Credit of my *Memory*; and I confess my Memory is of late grown weak, but not so weak as to think that *Marquardus Freherus* was not one man, and a Palatinate Councillor, though it be names that I most forget; why I gave not the Christen names of *Reuberus* and *Pistorius*, whether because I forgat them, or because I minded not so small a thing, not dreaming what would be inferred from it, I remember not. But when I wrote that abridgment, I made use of none that I thought the Papists would except against: For the first ages I gathered what I remembred out of the Fathers, and out of *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Evagrius*, *Theodoret*, the *Tripartite*, *Nicephorus*, *Liberatus*, *Brev. Victor Utic.* *Beda*, and such others as are by them received: Besides which I principally followed and Epitomized *Binnius*, and *Crab*, and partly *Baronius*, with *Platina*, *Onuphrius Panvinius*, *Stella*, *Petavius*, and others of their own. And I resolved I would not so much as open *Goldastus*, or any Protestant Collector, that they might not except against their Credit, and reject them as *malicious cursed Heretickes*, as *Labbe* doth *Melchior Goldastus* and almost all such others as he mentions; and as *Gretser*, *Sanders*, and other Papists commonly do. Therefore even those Histories which

be in *Goldastus*, I would not take as out of him, but some of them from the books published by others, and some as cited by *Binnius*, *Petavius*, or other such. And this is now the proof of my Vanity.

§ 2. It is a mistake if he think that I intended (as he speaks) to be a *Compiler of General Church History*; When I professed but to acquaint the English Reader with the true matter of fact out of the Papists themselves, what the ambitious part of Bishops and Councils have done, and by what degrees the Papacy sprang up, and whether subjection to the ascendent exort Prelacy be absolutely necessary to Concord and Salvation.

§ 3. As to his saying [*I am the first that ever reckoned* Nazianzen *among Historians*,] I take the writings of the Fathers, especially *Justin*, *Clemens Alex.* *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Basil*, *Nazianzen*, *Hierom*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustin*, to be the best part of Church History, especially their Epistles. And of this opinion I am not the first.

CHAP. V.

Of his Accusation of my citing Hanmer *and other Translators, and being deceived by* Binnius *and such others.*

§ 1. 1. HE accuseth me for not using *Valesius* his Edition of *Eusebius* and those Editions of the Councils which he accounteth the best: To which I say,

1. I am not Rich Enough to buy them, nor can keep them if I had them. Must none write but Rich men? The French Councils would cost more than many of us are worth: We have had no Ecclesiastical maintenance these 19 years; and we cannot keep the books we have. *Luther* wrote his book *de Conciliis* when it seems he had never read many of the Councils Acts, but as related by *Eusebius Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and the *Tripartite* History.

2. Dr. *James* hath long ago warned all Scholars to make much of *Crab* and other old ones, (and the Fathers as Printed at *Basil* by *Erasmus*, *Amerbachius*, &c.) and not to trust much to new Editions, as coming through untrusty hands.

3. Is *Valesius* a man of so much credit with you? Do you believe what he saith of *Grotius* as being in judgment for the Papal Church, and only in prudence delaying his visible Communion with them, that he might draw in many with him? (*Vales.* in *Orat. de Petavio*:) If he lye in this, and the success of *Petavius* on *Grotius*, why should he be more trusted than others? If not, I need not tell you what to think of those Bishops and Drs. who profess to be of the same mind and Church as *Grotius*; nor again to tell you who they be.

4. My design led me not to make use of Criticks, but only to tell the world, what the Papists themselves confess, such as I have throughout cited.

§ 2. As for my using *Hanmers* Translation of *Eusebius* and *Socrates*, my case was as before described: *Valesius* I had not: *Grineus* I made use of heretofore. But since I was by constraint deprived both of my books and money to buy more, when I wrote that Abridgment, I had only *Hanmers* Translation left me. And if that sort of men that forced me to give away my books, to keep them from being distreined on, will make use of this to prove me ignorant of them, the matter is very small to me.

If you say, I should not then have written, I answer, could they so have silenced us in the Pulpit, they had more answered their own judgment than mine. I had no use for Criticks, nor for any thing in *Eusebius* and *Socrates* that depends on the credit of the Translator.

§ 3. As to his oft noting that in Translations, and sometime in Chronology I err by following *Binnius*, I answer, had I written a full Church History, I should better have examined him and others. But I lay no stress of my cause of any of *Binnius* his Translations, nor will I undertake for any Historian that I cite: My business was but to tell those that believe *Binnius* and *Baronius*, and such other, what they say. Nor do I yet intend to bestow any time, in examining whether he wrong *Binnius* or not, it being nothing to my cause nor me, whether he mistook a year, or the meaning of a word of the Authors whom he citeth.

§ 4. He saith I use an old uncorrect Edition of *Binnius* 1606. *Ans.* It is that which is in most common use, entituled, *Recognita, Aucta, notis Illustrata*, dedicated to the Pope, and to *C. Baronius, ejus monitu scripta, qui veterem illam, mendosam, mutilam & confusam compilationem mille locis illustravit*, &c. commonly

Preferred before *Crab*, *Surius*, *Nicolinus*, &c. But any quarrel ſerveth ſome men.

CHAP. VI.

Of his Accuſations of my own Miſtranſlations and Miſtakes.

§ 1. OF theſe there are two real Overſights which he nameth, committed by too much haſt and heedleſneſs: The one is, that I miſplaced [*Vere*] in the Tranſlation of a Speech of *Theodorets*; a groſs overſight I confeſs: The other, that I put [*Epiſcopi*] as if it had been the Genitive caſe, when it was the Nominative plural; which alſo was a heedleſs overſight. And about the death of *Stephanus*, he noteth my miſtranſlating *Calami*; and I imagine yet he is ſcarce certain what it ſignified himſelf. As for his note of my uſe of [*Scripture*] about the *Epheſine* Council, I purpoſely kept to the literal Tranſlation, that none might ſay I did miſtranſlate it; but I never ſaid that by the *Scriptures* was meant the Bible.

§ 2. This Accuſer puts too great an honour on ſuch a Hiſtory as mine, which goeth through ſo many Ages and Acts, in noting ſo few, and ſuch little things. I never pretended to be as good an Hiſtorian as he is; yet I do not think that it was any thing but a ſlip of memory that made him put *Euſtathius* inſtead of *Flavian*, as kickt to death at *Epheſus*. And methinks he that thus begins his *Errata* of his own Book [*The faults that have eſcaped are almoſt infinite:*] ſhould not for one falſe Comma of the Printers, have paſſed the foreſaid cenſure of me.

But doth not this Learned Hiſtorian know, how ordinarily the greateſt of them do charge one another with manifold Errours, and of far greater moment than theſe forementioned. How few Hiſtorians do not this? Yea what bitter cenſures doth he paſs himſelf on no lower Hiſtorians than *Socrates* and *Sozomen*? It would be tedious to give you the Inſtances that every ſuch Book affordeth. I ſee he valueth *Labbe* the Jeſuite. How oft doth he accuſe Hiſtorians of Errour, Ignorance, Malice, *&c. e. g. de Anaſtaſio Biblioth.* ſo eminent a Writer of the Popes Lives, yet [*Errat Voſſius & ſiqui alii cum Anaſtaſio Presbytero*, &c.] And even

even of that famous History of the Popes, [*Onuphrius Panuinius, Gerh. Voſſius, & plerique alii ultimam cenſent eſſe ab Anaſtaſio ſcriptam, Nicolai* 1. *Papæ Vitam, & a Gulielmo S.R.E. Bibliothecario additas fuiſſe Hadr.* 2. *& Steph.* 6. *P. Vitas : Verum Cardinalis Baronius iis refragatur eidemque auctori omnes illas aſcribit ; ſunt quoque qui a Damaſo Papa, &c.*] Here the greateſt Historians differ about one of the moſt noted Histories.

Of *Auguſtin's* Works (*To.* 1. *p.* 129.) he tells you that *Bellarmine* tells us not what Edition he uſed : But it's certain he uſed not the *Antwerp*, or *Plantinian* Edition, which was the beſt, and the Original of all the reſt.]

P. 132. *Rivet* and *Perkins* are derided for diſowning ſome Epiſtles.

P. 135. *Eraſmi, Riveti ſimiliumque ridetur a doctis cenſura* (*viz. de lib. Continent.*) And I profeſs my ſelf leſs skilful in ſuch matters than *Eraſmus*.

Et ibid. Eraſmus & Hoſius Juliano opus illud tribuere videntur, Pamelius tanquam incerti Authoris allegat : Nos cum Lovanienſibus Bellarmino, aliiſque Catholicis Auguſtini eſſe cenſemus, nec tricæ Riveti deterrent.

P. 136. *Quæſt. Vet. & Novi Teſt. non ſunt Auguſtini ut facile omnes conſentiunt : Quamvis ſub ejus nomine citatæ reperiantur ab Epiſcopis Lutetiæ Pariſ. An.* 824. *Congregatis & quibuſdam aliis.*

Of *Auſonius* the Poet, *p.* 171. he ſaith, [*Quam falſa ſint quæ de eo ſcripſit Jo. Trithemius quivis vel ex ipſa lectione intelliget.*

Of *Mantuan*, *p.* 173. [*Ex Trithemii encomio hæc dubio procul omni obliteranda*: [*Qui metro Virgilium, Ciceronem proſa æquat, ne dicam ſuperat :*] *Sunt enim falſiſſima iis qui guſtum aliquem latinitatis habent.*

Of *Beda*, *p.* 184. See what he ſaith of *Will. Malmsbury*, *Mat. Weſtminſt. Voſſius* and *Baronius*.

Of *Boethius*, *p.* 204. *Honorius Auguſtod.---ubi falſo narrat Mediolani interfectum fuiſſe---*

P. 217. *Plura adverſus Leunclavium, primum eorum editorem declamavit Jac. Billius (de Cæſario.)*

De Claudio Scoto, p. 228. *Tho. Dempſterus multa pro more ſuo indigeſta effudit---*

De Gerſone, p. 565. *Errat poſt Poſſevinum Maraccius qui Joan. hunc Monachum ordinis cœleſti---aſſerit---Idem quoque ex Patrologo eradendum.*

See

See what he saith *de Julio Africano*, that the *Annotationes eruditiss. in Euseb. Eccles. Hist.---Opinioni nostræ in plerisque adversantur.*] I suppose he means that *Valesius* which I wanted.

And *de Justino Mart. Scaligerum errasse, &c.*] *Et p.* 833. (*insigne mendum ex Trithemio, Gesnero, Simlero, Sexto, Possevino,* Bellarmino, Miræo, *aliisque propagatum*---)

To. 2. *p.* 361. *Smaragdos duos in unum confuderunt, Trithemius, Sixtus Senensis, Possevinus, Bellarminus, Miræus aliique passim*---] Abundance such charges tell us how much greater Errours are charged on the greatest Historians, than Mr. *Morrice* chargeth on me, with the least shew of probability.

How many score of Historians doth *Blondell* cite, who he thinks have falsly told us of a Pope *Joan*?

What abundance of faults would *Causabon* have found in *Baronius*, if he had lived to go through him as he began? And I profess my self much more ignorant in History than *Baronius*.

It would be tedious to number all the gross Errours that *Vossius* citeth *de scriptor. Græcis & Latinis*; *e.g.* in the *Later. p.* 230. *Hos duos confudit Trithemius---vid. quæ habet de Flac. Alcuino, p.* 290, 291, 292. *De Usuardo, p.* 295. *cont. Gualterium & Baronium, Wicelium, p.* 296. *& cap.* 32. *de Turpino contra Trithemium & alios. Et cap.* 33. *de Walasr. Strab. Tritthenius vehementer errat---Et Laur. Surium Bellarmin. in Catal. & alios nonnullos in errorem induxit.*

Vid. & quæ de Aimoino, p. 308, 309. *habet, & contra Possevinum, p.* 310. *& contra alios,* 311. *Et contra Baronium, Breulium. &c.* 312. *Et de Haimone cap.* 35. *contra Tritthenium, & de Rabano Mauro, p.* 315. *Et de Landulph. Sagace contra Cæs. Orlandium. De Anastas. c.* 35. *p.* 319. *De Hincmaro contra Tritthenium, c.* 36. *p.* 320. But I must not tire the Reader: Multitudes of such Instances this one Author gives us: And how few Historians charge not others with Errours so much greater, and more than Mr. *M.* with any Truth accuseth me of.

§ 3. As to his notes on my Titles of some Councils, it's past my memory, whether it was my carelesness, or (as I think) the Printer's Errour, to put [a Council at *Aransican, Toletan, Regiense*, for *Concilium Aransicanum, Toletanum, Rhegiense.*] If it was my act, I forgot that I had first put the Substantive in English. But he may oft find the same names used to his mind: And sure it is no falsification of the History.

§ 4. But

§ 4. But he hath a far greater charge against me, that *I did not apprehend the mind of the Council at* Tours; why so? The words are [*Nos vero siquos Lex perimi jubet, si cupiunt audire præconem, volumus ut convertantur ad vitam: Nam perimendi sunt oris gladio & communione privandi si relicta sibi seniorum decreta observare noluerint, &c.* Here he saith the meaning is, [The Ecclesiastical Laws do punish such with perpetual Excommunications, yet this Council thought fit to mitigate it, *&c.*] The Question is, Whether [*Quos Lex perimi jubet*, signifie Death, or Excommunication?] I take it to be Death, and that the Council saith [Though by the Law such are to Die, if they will hear the Preacher, we will have them converted to Life: But so that if they will not be separated, the Church Sword of Excommunication shall cut them off instead of Death.] My Reasons why [*Lex perimi jubet*] signifieth Death, are from the expres foregoing words, [*Quia etiam Lex Romana constituit, ut quicunque sacratam Deo Virginem vel Viduam fortasse rapuerit, si postea eis de conjunctione convenerit, capitis sententia feriantur. Item siquis, non dicam rapere, sed attentare matrimonii conjungendi causa, sacram Virginem ausus fuerit, capitis sententia feriatur. Cum etiam in Chronicis habeatur de Virginibus Gentilium tempore, quæ se deæ Vestæ sacraverant, postmisso proposito & corrupta virginali gratia, Legali sententia vivas in terra fuisse desossas.* If none of this signifie Death, I confes I understand not Latine. I thought the Council meant Death by [*Lex perimi jubet,*] but they would be more merciful; which I blamed them not for, but noted here what many other Canons instance, where they also punish murder but with keeping men from Communion, that this agreeth with some Sectaries Opinion. I leave Mr. *M's.* great skill in expounding Councils here to any equal Judge. But if I ignorantly mistake in all this, and neither [*Capitis sententia feriantur*] nor [*Vivas in terra desossas*] signifie Death, but Excommunication, yet many other Canons after cited fully tell us of the Bishops Clemency.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Mr M's. *Exposition of Church History tryed by his Exposition of my own words: And* 1. *Of his false supposition that I am only for a Church of one Congregation meeting in one place.*

§ 1. IF so many repetitions of my Opinion cannot save Mr *M.* from so untrue a supposition of my self, I must not too far trust him, of the sence of those that he is as distant from as I. Yet this supposition running through all his book, shews that he wrote it against he knew not whom nor what. His foundation is because I define a single Church by *Personal present Communion.*

§ 2. I do so: And 1. Doth he think there is no such thing as Christians conjoyned for assembling in Gods ordinary worship, under the Conduct of their Proper Pastors. I will not censure him so hardly as to think he will deny it. 2. Are these Churches or not. I suppose he will say, Yea. 3. But is there no *Personal Present Communion* but in publick worship. Yes sure Neighbours who worship God in divers places, may yet live in the Knowledge and conversation of each other; and may meet for Election of Officers, and other Church businesses, and may frequently exhort, reprove and admonish each other, and relieve each other in daily wants; and many meet sometimes by turns in the same place, where they all cannot meet at once: We have great Towns, (like *Ipswich, Plymouth Shrewsbury*, &c.) which have many Parishes, and yet Neighbourhood maketh them capable of [*Personal Communion in Presence*] as distinct from [*Communion* by *Letters* or *Delegats with those* that *we neither see nor know.*] And we have many great Parishes which have several Chappels, where the People ordinarily meet yet *per vices* some one time and some another come to the Parish Churches. Have these no Parochial *Personal Communion?*

To the *well-being* of a *Church*, I confess I would not have a single Church of the lowest species have too many, nor too few: No more than whose Personal Communion should be frequent in Gods publick worship. Nor so few as should not fully employ more Ministers of Christ than one. But to the *Being* of a Church, I only

I only require that the End of their Association be *Personal Communion* as distinct from distant Communion by Letters and delegates. And by [*Communion*] I mean not only the Sacrament.

§ 2. It is in vain therefore to answer a book that goeth on such false suppositions, and a man that will face down the world that I plead for that which I never owned, and so frequently disclaim.

CHAP. VIII.

Of his false supposition that I am against Diocesan Bishops, because I am against that species of them which puts down all the Bishops of single Churches, and these Churches themselves.

§ 1. THis supposition goeth through almost all the book: In his preface he saith [*The superiority of Bishops over Presbyters* is *acknowledged* by *Catholicks*, and *Schismaticks & Hereticks, &c. and yet this Church history would have us believe the Contrary.*] And so throughout.

§ 2. And yet to shew that he knew the Contrary in one place he confesseth it, and described part of my judgment, and saith that none will be of my mind in it, but it is singular to my self: Yea I had in my Disput. of Church Government, which he taketh on him in part to answer, and in my Treat. of Episcopacy which he also pretends to answer in part, told them of more sorts of Bishops than one that I oppose not, no not A. Bishops themselves: And one of them hereupon notes it as if I differed but about the name, submitting to Dioceſans so they may but be called A. Bishops. To whom I answered that A. Bishops have Bishops under them, so that though I over and over even to tediousness tell them it is the *deposing of all the first* or lowest *Species of Bishops* and *Churches*, and *Consequently* all *Possibility of true Discipline that I oppose*, and submit to any that oversee many such Churches without destroying them and their priviledges instituted by Christ] I speak still in vain to them: These true Historians face down the world that I write whole books to the clean contrary.

CHAP. IX.

Of his ſuppoſition that I am an Independent, and yet that I plead for the cauſe of the Preſbyterians.

§ 1. THis is alſo a ſuppoſition that is part of the *Stamina* of his Book; and how far he is to be believed herein judge by the evidence following.

1. He knew what I ſaid before for three ſorts of Biſhops, 1. *Epiſcopi Gregis*, Overſeers of ſingle loweſt Churches, as of Divine Inſtitution: 2. For *Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum*, or Preſidents. Biſhops *ejuſdem Ordinis, non ejuſdem Gradus*, in the ſame Churches, as of early Humane Inſtitution, which I reſiſt not. 3. *Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum*, Overſeers of many Churches, which I ſuſpect to be Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, and of ſuch as *Timothy, Titus, &c.* in the continued ordinary part of their work, (exerciſing no other Power than they did:) Inſomuch that Dr. *Sherlock* would be thought ſo much leſs Epiſcopal than I, as that he ſaith, *It is Antichriſtian* to aſſert *Epiſcopos Epiſcoporum.*

§ 2. And Dr. *Parker* hath newly written a Book for Epiſcopacy, which I hear many deſpiſe; but for my part I take to be the ſtrongeſt that I have ſeen written for it theſe twenty years; but to no purpoſe againſt me; for it is but for Epiſcopacy in general, which I oppoſe not. It excellent well improveth the Arguments of the K. and Biſhops at the Iſle of *Wight*; even that one Argument that a Superiority of ſome over others being ſettled by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that Form muſt be ſuppoſed to continue, unleſs we have clear proof of the Repeal or Ceſſation. I have oft ſaid the ſame; I could never anſwer that Argument: But this will not juſtifie the depoſing of thouſands of Biſhops and Churches, and of their Diſcipline, to turn them all into two or three Dioceſans.

§ 3. Alſo he knoweth that I have written theſe 35 years againſt Lay-Elders; believing that the Colledge of Elders which of old aſſiſted the Biſhops, were none of them Lay-men, nor unordained, but of the ſame Order, though not Degree, with the Biſhop himſelf.

§ 4.

§ 4. And I have also written that Synods of Bishops or Presbyters are but for Concord, and have not as such by a major Vote a proper Government of the minor part or absent: Much less that Classes, and other Assemblies, are the stated Church-Government which all must obey: And are the Presbyterians of any of the three forementioned Opinions?

§ 5. I ever held a necessity of manifold dependance of all Christians and Churches. As all depend on Christ as their Head, so do all the People on the Pastors, as their authorized Guides, whom they must not Rule, but be Ruled by, 1 *Thes.* 5. 12, 13. *Heb.* 13. 17, 24. And all these Churches depend on each other for Communion and Mutual Help, as many Corporations in one Kingdom. And frequent Synods well used, are greatly helpful to these ends: And the Command of doing as much as we can in Love and Concord, doth bind all the particular persons to concur with the Synods in all things that tend to the Peace and Edification of the Church, or are not against it. And more than so, if the general Visitors or Bishops that take care of many Churches, do by God's Word direct, instruct, reprove, admonish the particular Bishops and Churches, they ought with reverence to hear them and obey them. And if Independents really are for all this, why do these Accusers represent them odiously, as if it were no such matter, but they were meerly for Church-Democracy? Either you are not to believed in what you say of them, or of me.

§ 6. I know we have men that say, that on pretence of acknowledging all this Episcopacy, I put down all, because I take from them the power of the Sword, and leave all to despise them if they please. *Ans.* This indeed is the power that under the name of Episcopacy now too many mean. Bishop *Bilson* knew no Power but Magistrates by the Sword, and Ministers by the Word. But why name I one man? It is the common Opinion of Protestants, and most sober Papists, that Bishops as such have no power of force on Body or Purse. But we deny not the forcing Power of the Magistrate. 3. But we heartily wish that they would keep it in their own hands, and never use it to force unwilling men into the Church, or to Church Communion; high Priviledges which no unwilling person hath any right to. This is my Independency.

CHAP. X.

Of his Accusation, That I make the Bishops the Authors of all Heresies and Schisms, as distinct from Presbyters, Monks and People.

§ 1. THis also runs throughout his Book; and must such Books be answered or believed? I never denyed the guilt and concurrence of others with them. I only say, That as Bishops were the Chief, so they had the chief hand, as far as I can yet learn, in Heresies and Schisms, since they came to their height of Power, and specially in those grand Heresies and Schisms, which have broken, and keep the Churches in those great Sects and Parties, which in East and West it consisteth of to this day. I never doubted or denyed but that 1. The Heresies that were raised before the Church had any Patriarchs, or the turgent sort of Bishops, were certainly raised without them. 2. And afterward sometime a Presbyter began a Heresie. 3. And the Bishops were but as the Generals of the Army in all the Church Civil Wars. But I never denyed but the Prelatical Priests, Monks, and multitude were their obsequious Army.

§ 2. Mr. *M.* saith, That those Bishops that were Hereticks, were mostly such, or inclined to it before. *Answ.* 1. Was there then a good Succession of Ordination, when the World groaned to find it self *Arian*? Were all these *Arians* before their Consecration?

Answ. 2. Were they not all Prelatical Presbyters that aspired to be Bishops, and so as they say had a Pope or Bishop in their bellies. I never thought that Prelatical Priests that studied Preferment, and longed to be Bishops, had no hand in Heresies nor Schisms, no more than that the *Roman* Clergy are innocent herein, and the fault is in the Pope alone. What a deal then of this man's Book is lost and worse, on such suppositions?

CHAP. XI.

Of his confident Accusation, that I mention all the faults of the Bishops, and none of their Goodness, or Good Deeds.

§ 1. THis also is a chief part of the *Warp* or *Stamen* of his Book. In his Preface he saith, ["*This History of* "*Bishops is nothing else but an Account of all the faults that Bishops* "*have committed in the several Ages of the Church, without Any* "*Mention of their Good Actions, of their Piety and Severity of* "*their Lives; of their Zeal for the Faith, &c.*]

Answ. 1. Whether this Fundamental Accusation be true or false, let the Reader who loveth Truth see 1. In the very first Chapt. from § 41. to the end. 2. Through all the Book where I oft praise good Bishops, good Councels, and good Canons, and good Books and Deeds. 3. In the two last Chapters of the Book, written purposely to hinder an ill use of the Bishops faults.

In the first Chapter ["*Very many of the Bishops themselves were* "*humble, holy, faithful men, that grieved for the miscarriages of* "*the rest*: Though such excellent persons as *Gregory* of *Neoce-* "*sarea, Greg. Nazianz. Greg. Nyssen, Basil, Chrysostom, Augu-* "*stine, Hillary, Prosper, Fulgentius*, &c. were not very common, "no doubt but there were many that wrote not Books, nor "came so much into the notice of the World, but avoided con- "tentions and factious stirs, that quietly and honestly conduct- "ed the Flocks in the waies of Piety, Love, and Justice. And "some of them (as St. *Martin*) separated from the Councils and "Communion of the prevailing turbulent sort of the Prelates, "to signifie the *disowning of their sins.*]

Of the Antients before the world crowded into the Church, I never made question: Such as *Clemens, Polycarp, Ignatius, Irenæus*, and the rest.

How oft I have praised holy *Cyprian*, and the *African* Bishops and Councils, he sometime confesseth.

What I say of *Atticus, Proclus*, and other peaceable Bishops, you may see *p.* 17. and very oft. Yea of the Bishops of many Sects; much of the *Albigenses*, &c. *p.* 17, 18, Yea

Yea of the good that was done by the very worldly sort *p.* 18, 19, 20. Yea of the Papists Bishops that were pious *p.* 20. § 46.

And § 47. I vindicate the excellency of the Sacred Office. And § 53, 58, 59, 60. I plead for Episcopacy it self in the justifiable species of it.

§ 2. But perhaps he will say, that at least I say more of their faults than their virtues: I answer, of such good Bishops as *Cyprian, Basil, Greg. Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Augustin, Hillary, Martin*, &c. I speak of their virtues and nothing at all (that I remember) of their faults. Of such as *Theophilus*, and *Cyril Alexandri.* and *Epiphanius, &c.* I speak of their virtues and some of their faults (as the scripture doth of many good mens.) Of the more ambitious, turbulent sort, I speak only or mostly of their faults: For I profess not to write a History of their lives, but to inform the ignorant what Spirit it is that brought in Church tyranny and divisions. I denyed none of their virtues, though it was not my work to record them.

While I am confuting the Errours of your book, do I wrong you unless I write a Catalogue of your good works. *Morney, Illyricus*, and many others have gathered a *Catalogue* of old witnesses for Protestant Verities. And Bishop *Morton* hath cited multitudes of Papists against their party: Have they wronged them because they have not also cited all that the same said for the *Roman* cause? I have mentioned the virtues of some of the Popes, even of *Greg.* 7. but of many others I have only mentioned their vices: This is not to deny any good that is in them: Nor do you accuse your selves of any injustice when you tell the world how bad men the Parliaments have bin, and how bad *Cromwell* and the Armies, and how bad the Nonconformists are, and I in particular, without naming any of their good deeds or virtues: Because it is not your business.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of his Accusation that I do all in spite and malice against Bishops, and as using ill language of them.

§. 1. *Answ.* 1. Spite and Malice are heart sins: If the same effect may come from other Causes, how know you that these are the Cause?

Anſ. 2. Is it from Spight and Malice that Protestants commonly describe the vices of the Popes, such as *Greg.* 7. *Sergius*, *Alexandr.* 3. *Boniface* 8. *Joh.* 12. and 13. & 22, & 23. & *Eugen.* 4. *&c.* And also that they so hardly speak of the *Jesuites*, Yea and Papists commonly? Sure it may come from some other cause.

Anſ. 3. Is it from Spight and Malice that you recite the tumults of the *German* Anabaptists, the faults of those at *Munster*, the Errours of *David George*, the many Enthusiastick Sects described by *Beckman Exercit.* (of whom many as *Thaulerus*, *Kempis*, *Behmen* had much very commendable; and *Grotius* praised *Joh. Arndt.*) Is it from Malice that the Familists, Seekers, Quakers, Anabaptists, *&c.* are usually by your party described by their faults, without any mention of their goodness?

Anſ. 4. Is it from Spight and Malice that your Party have written what they have done of the great faultiness of the Nonconformists, both former and latter; and that *Calvinists* are so odiously represented, that the Reformation by them is described by *Heylin* and others as Rebellious? That such books are written as *Heylins Aerius Redivivus*, *H. Fowlis*, the *Evangel. Armatum*, The *Eccles. Polit.* the Friendly Debate, the Counterminer, the Vindicat. of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, the pretended second part, (which is a continued Calumny against my self, so full of particular falshoods as are not to be without a tedious Volume answered: And a multitude such written to render the Nonconformists odious and unsufferable. If all these be not written in Malice, how know you that mine were?

Anſ. 5. And whereas some pretending moderation accuse me of too bad provoking language, 1. Is there any Comparison between the language of any of these books, or yours and Dr. *Sherlock's*

Downham his Defence of his Visit. sermon, his frequent charges [of shameless, impudent Lying, and much more] against a Nonconformist that gave him no such language. Read but the ordinary Writings of such as Bishop *Bancroft*, Dr. *Sutcliff*, and most others against the Old Nonconformists; and of the *Lutherans* against the *Calvinists*, even men that I am persuaded meant honestly, but by Faction were exasperated, as *Hunnius*, *Brentius*, *Morlinus*, *Marbachius*, *Snepsius*, *Wigandus*, *Heshusius*, *Andreas*, *Selnecerus*, *Heerbrand*, *Calovius*, and many such. Read but our Grammarians, such as you may find in the many Volumes of the Collections of *Janus Gruterus*, even those of *Cramer*, and *Phil. Paræus*, and others against himself; where *Fools*, *Knaves*, *Lyars*, *Sots*, and worse, make up much of the style.

Read but our Old Grammarian Reformers against the Popish Priests, and Schoolmen, I mean *Erasmus*, *Hutten*, *Faber*, and the rest, what Scorns their Writings do abound with.

I will not refer you to the Queen of *Navarre*, and *Stephanus* his *World of Wonders*, against the Priests, lest you think I approve of the excess.

Yea read but the Writings of our famous Learned Criticks, *Jul.* and *Joseph Scaliger*, *Heinsius*, *Salmasius*, &c. from whom the railing Jesuite *Labbe* took advantage to say, *Tom.* 1. *p.* 820. [" *Ri-* " *veto præiverat Josephus Scaliger, homo utique modestissimus,* " *qui Editores S. Irænai vocat, clamosos, maledicentissimos.* " *Cercopas, Tartareos, Pyriphlegethontas, virulentiæ & probrorum* " *concionatores, & editionem eolonienſem, cloacam Sycophantiarum,* " *latrinam convitiorum, & stabulum insciticæ.*] Through God's great mercy, while *Malignity* is the Complexion of the Serpent's Seed, and *Lying* is their Breath, and *Murder* is their Work, the names of all these sins are odious in the world, and guilt is impatient, and cannot endure its own name.

Should I but mention the Language of Papists, how they represent the holiest Protestants as Lyars, Deceivers, Devils, intollerable, whom it is as lawful to kill as Dogs, Foxes or Toads, it would concern none but those of you that use to say, I had rather be a Papist than a Puritane, or Presbyterian; or those that renounce Communion with us, and own it with the Church of *Rome*; who are, alas, too many. Such Language as *Labbe's*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 819. is of the sweeter sort, *viz.* " *Quisquis es salutis*

" *tuæ*

"*tua amans, Omnes illico Calviniſtas, Lutheranos, Socinianos* "*Anabaptiſtas, ſimileſque generis humani peſtes, Cacodæmonum* "*inſtar execrabere.* This is but what we daily hear: But while we hear it in a Language ſo very like from the Papiſts, and the Pulpits and Preſs, and *Roger Le Strange* is become the Church's Advocate and Mouth, it will harden them that did ill joyn together *Popery* and *Prelacy* in their rejections.

Honeſt *Thuanus* is amiable and honourable for Speaking well of all that deſerved it, without partiality: But *Gerh. Voſſius* is put to defend his Father-in-law *Junius* againſt his unjuſt cenſure. Indeed *Junius* was a man of Eminent peaceableneſs and moderation, (I would *Arminius* and he had been the utmoſt proſecutors of that Controverſie, notwithſtanding Dr. *Twiſſes* undervaluing his skill in School Divinity) And few men were more unlike *Thuanus* his ill Character than *Junius*: But Dr *Manton* hath told me that he hath been fully informed that it was not *Junius* that *Thuanus* meant but another that dyed that year (which *Junius* did not) and that by ſome ill chance a wrong name was put in Contrary to *Thuanus* intent.

§ 2. Dr. *Burnet* is a man whom I much value and honour, and pleadeth much for peace and moderation, and therefore much the more amiable to me: I thank him for his reproof of me to my face; but becauſe he goeth on to vend it as juſt behind my back, where I cannot anſwer him, I muſt do it here. He ſaith that [*I began and that with unchriſtian, provoking language againſt the Conformiſts in my firſt Plea for peace, which cauſed all the ſucceeding heats.*]

Anſ. 1. I have to him and oft in print appealed to humanity and common ſence whether one that was ſeventeen years ſilent, & communicated in the Pariſh Churches, and under ſcorns, and ejection, impriſonment & mulcts did peaceably continue Communion with them without reply or ſelf defence, and never wrote againſt them, till they had long called out to him to give them an account of the reaſons of his Nonconformity, and then durſt not provoke them by a diſpute, but barely named the matters which we judge unlawful, profeſſing not to be the Accuſer of Conformiſts, but only to anſwer the Call of Parliament-men, Biſhops, and others that urged us, and threatned us if we would not tell them what we ſtuck at; and made this the Juſtification of their proſecution of many hundred men: I ſay, whether ſuch a

man had a Call to speak? When the King Licensed us, I had before briefly defended our Preaching as Licensed: But being thus summoned by our Prosecutors and Superiours, I told them what we judged unlawful; and was this a beginning of the Flame? Was Seventeen years Poverty, Prohibition and Prosecution, and all this Importunity, no provocation or call to speak? Did this begin? If he were in the House of Correction, and were beaten but Seventeen years, or Seven years, to confess the Cause for which he suffered, and at last confessed it, and one should say, This was the beginning of the strife, Would he take this for a good Historian? And if he had written History, would this report advance the credit of it?

§ 3. But the second thing accused, is the unchristian Language of that Book. *Answ.* Doth a general Accusation signifie more ill of the accuser, or of the accused, if it be not proved by particular Instances? I urged him to name the unchristian words, and I remember but two Instances he gave me.

The first is, that I use the word [*untruths*] against my Accusers. And 1. I think the Reader will very rarely find that word in that Book. 2. Is this so harsh as the common charge of *Lying*, used even by the most Learned sober Conformists? 3. I thought it had been a modest word: What shall a man say when such Volumes of Slander are published against him and others, as tends to preach all their Neighbours into hatred and persecution of them? Alas! Doth it increase our crime to say, It *is untrue?* How shall we then answer for our selves at any Bar? Is it tollerable voluminously to tell the World down-right falshoods of us? and is it railing for us to say, [*They are untrue?*] What's this but like him that run a man thorow in wrath with his Sword, and indicted him for crying, oh? This is the Church Justice even of our moderate Historians.

§ 4. But he saith, I should not call it [a *falshood*, or *untruth*] but a *mistake*. *Answ.* This is a sharper word; for it signifieth the fault of the mistaker usually; whereas by speaking *de objecto*, that it is *false*, I leave it to others how far the reporter is to be blamed. But sure most Logical *Disputations* are Railings, if the words [*falsum*] and [*fallacia*] be such.

§ 5. About a month or six weeks ago the Observator, the Churches Advocate published, That [" a Captain of Horse of " the King's, had the fortune to be dismounted, wounded and " stript,

" ſtript, and a Chaplain (naming me before) cut from about his " neck a Medal, which the King had given him, and the Soul- " diers ſpared in the heat of blood.] I ſent him word how falſe this was: I never ſaw the man in my life that I know of; much leſs ever medled with him: But was in a Houſe where a Soul- dier brought a ſmall ſilver-guilt Medal, about the bigneſs of a big Shilling, and ſaid, he took it from about the neck of one Captain *Jennings*, whoſe Life he ſpared: He offered it to ſale, and no one offering him more, I gave him eighteen pence for it in 1643. as I remember: And about 1648. hearing where Captain *Jen- nings* was, ſuppoſing it might be of great uſe to him, I ſent it him as a gift by one Mr. *Sommerfield.*] And this ſlander is all the thanks I had. The Church-Advocate wrote me back, that he had it formally atteſted. I craved as a favour of him to tell me if Captain *Jennings* be living, how I might write to him. He anſwers me, that one was out of the way that he muſt firſt ſpeak with, and I ſhould ſhortly hear from him. The next I heard was as a ſecond part of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, the foreſaid Book full of cruel falſhood, taken from my having been for the Parliament, and from many diſtorted words of mine: Now when this Book renders me worſe than a Jew, or Heathen, and unfit to live, ſome I fear will tell abroad that I am a Traitor, for ſaying, that [*It is ſlanderous or untrue.*]

§ 6. His ſecond Inſtance was theſe words of mine [" *Pardon* " *me for ſaying, I think that Mr.* Tombs *hath ſaid more like truth* " *for Anabaptiſtry, the late* Hungarian *for Polygamy, many for* " *Drunkenneſs, Stealing, and Lying, in caſes of Neceſſity, than ever* " *I yet read for the Lawfulneſs of all that I have here deſcribed.*]

Anſw. 1. Is there any Railing or unchriſtian Language in theſe words? which be they?

Anſw. 2. Do I here ſpeak of any but my ſelf and the Non- conformiſts? Do I not proteſt againſt accuſing others, and only ſay, what it would be to me, ſhould I conform? And muſt I not, when importuned by Biſhops, Prieſts and Rulers, ſay what I fear, leſt others ſhould think it intimateth their guiltineſs? Can I help that?

Anſw. 3. Did that man ever underſtandingly conſider the matter, who can doubt of the truth of what I ſay?

I. On the one ſide how *heinous* and *many* the ſins that *we fear* are, if we ſhould conform, I muſt not again name, for that's it that provoketh.

II. Now as to the Comparison;

1. I'le appeal to Learned Bishop *Barlow* whether Mr. *Tombs* hath not made the Case of Anabaptistry more difficult? Let them that deny it confute him better than I have done.

2. And why doth none answer the *Hungarians* book for Polygamy if it be easier done than the task in question. I have known the man that maintained, that if a King had a barren wife, and his Kingdom like to be undone by a destructive successor, he might as lawfully take another wife, as *Adams* Children might marry incestuously. And indeed the many unreproved instances of Polygamy in *Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, Solomon, &c.* will allow men more pretence for it, than ever I saw brought for all (I say, but For all) that I have named in that book.

3. And many Physicians have said so much (though amiss) for the lawfulness of a Drunken Cup instead of a Vomit & a Cordial in some diseases, as have made it a harder case than ours seems to me: And I say not what it seems to others.

4. And *de necessario concubitu legantur quæ a medicis dicuntur de furore uterino.*

5. And for stealing nothing but present food to save life, he that Considers what God allowed a man to take that went through an Orchard, Vineyard or Corn-field, and what the Law of nature is, and whether the Kings Army on whose strength the Safety of King & Kingdom depends, may not violently take food without the owners consent rather than perish, will find it harder to justifie the denying Christendom and Communion to godly Persons that scruple our sort of God Fathers, Crossing and Kneeling, *&c.* than to confute the aforesaid stealing, or that which is meerly to save life.

6. And as for Lying in cases of necessity, No less men of their own party than *Grotius de Jure Belli* and Bishop *Jer. Taylor* in *Duct. Dubit.* have written for it. And though I be against it, and many Conformists for it, yet I will not deny but if the Life of the King might be saved among Enemies by a Lie; or the Life of a Patient by his Physicians deceiving him by a Lie, much more may be pretended for it, than for all the heinous sin which I fear.

§ 7. And if these words be uncharitable Railing, what means have we left to give them that demand it, the Reasons of our Nonconformity?

What

What if we had gone further, and taken it for a crying Church Crime, and called all the Clergy to Repentance? If that which we judge sinful be not so, let them confute us: If it be so, and as great as we fear, is it not our duty to bewail it, and mourn for it? *Ezek.* 9.4. *Zeph.* 3. 17, &c. And is not mincing and extenuating great sin, an implicit hardening men against Repentance? Should one Preach against Adultery, Fornication, Perjury, Murder, as about a doubtful Controversie, or a small thing, and say but [*Good men are on both sides; I dare not say it is a sin, though I dare not do it my self: Or if it be one, it is but such as good men are ordinarily guilty of: We must not judge one another.*] What were this but (worse than *Eli* to his Sons) to cherish Sin, and Preach Impenitence, and serve Satan against the Evangelical Preaching of Repentance?

§ 8. For my Judgment, I profess it to be the duty of me, and all men, to use no Language of Good mens faults, no, though they turn Persecutors upon some particular Errour, but what is consistent with true Love to the men, and to cover their faults that are private, and meerly personal, as far as lawfully we may; but not to make light of publick, aggravated Crimes, such as those of *Hophni* and *Phinehas*; nor to shew indifferency towards Buyers and Sellers in the Temple; nor to strengthen the Sin which threatneth a Land. If I thought that hundreds or thousands of Christ's faithful Ministers in any Country were unjustly hunted and forbidden to Preach the Gospel to a People that truly need it, and this to the unavoidable dividing of the People, and the plain making way for a Forreign Jurisdiction, I should take my self as a guilty hinderer of Repentance, and Enemy to the Publick Safety, if I should say only [*This is a doubtful Controversie between Good, Wise, and Learned men.*]

Labbe ends his *To.* 1. as justifying his bittereſt Reproaches, with the Authority of Christ, *Peter*, *Paul*, *John*, *Jude*, *Ignatius*. And if he had only given great and publick sins, the true names necessary to mens knowledge of them, for Repentance or Preservation, those Texts, and many more would have justified him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of his Suppoſition that I ſpeak againſt all Biſhops Councils.

§ 1. THis is not ſo. 1. I write oft for the great uſefulneſs of Councils. 2. I juſtly praiſe no ſmall number of them, eſpecially before the great Riſing of the Biſhops, for the firſt 300 or 400 years: He once acknowledgeth it of the *African* Councils: And he might have ſeen the like of many *Spaniſh*, and ſome *French* and *Germane* Councils: The *Engliſh* I little medled with. 3. The Firſt General Council at *Nice* I juſtly honour; yea and the Three following, and many more than three, for the ſoundneſs of their Faith, and as having many very laudable perſons in them; though I ſhew the ill effects of their contention and ambition.

I have heard ſome Conformiſts confeſs the great Learning and piety of the *Weſtminiſter* Synod in 1642. and of the Synod of *Dort*, where we had Delegates: and yet ſharplier ſpeak againſt the Acts of both by far, than I have done by any ſuch pious Perſons. Even they that have honoured Biſhop *Carlton*, Biſhop *Hall*, Biſhop *Davenant*, Dr. *Ward*, *&c.* that were there, have yet bitterly reproached the Decrees which they ſubſcribed. And how many as well as Dr *Heylin* have written and ſpoken ill of A. Biſhop *Uſher*, of A. Biſhop *Abbot*, A. Biſhop *Grindal*, A. Biſhop *Parker* (*yea of* A. Biſhop *Whitguift* for the *Lambeth*-Articles which I juſtifie not) who yet have a great honour both for Biſhops and their Councils.

§ 2. But I confeſs I am much of *Nazianzen*'s mind, and I think I am no more againſt them in the general than he was. And I am againſt our ſubjection to the Juriſdiction of Forreign Councils, and the uſe that the Pope and ambitious Clergy have made of them, to become Maſters of Princes and of the world: I am not for *Ebbo*'s *French* Council which depoſed *Ludov. Pius*, nor for making them either the Popes Army, or the Army of Patriacks againſt each other or of ſuch Princes as *Conſtantius*, *Valens*, *Theodoſius junior*, *Anaſtaſius Philippicus*, *Juſtinian*, *Irene*, *&c.* to fulfill their own miſtaken wills, how honeſt ſoever the men might

might be. Much less am I for such work as the Council at *Lateran sub Innoc.* 3 made, no nor that at *Florence.*

§ 3 And I take it for an Act of great Prudence in this my accuser, while he is vindicating Bishops Councils, to go no further than the four first General, when it is many hundred that I have mentioned. And is it not really an intimated accusation of them to vindicate so few of above 400. And those such as for their faith we all own.

And yet a man would think by the strein of his style and language that it were at least the greater part of Conncils that he were pleading for. I say still as Bishop *Bilson* and other Protestants: Well ordered sound Councils we owe great respect and honour to, for Counsel, strength and Concord, but *subjection and Obedience*, saith he, *We* owe *Them* none, (save as we are bid, be all subject one to another, and serve one another in Love.)

§ 4. And now I leave any impartial man to judge what answer such a book deserved, which goeth upon all these forementioned untrue suppositions.

CHAP. XIV.

Some mens Credit about ancient Church History, may be conjectured at by their Reports of the History of the time and place that we live in.

§ 1. BY their History of late and present things we may conjecture at the Credit of not Mr. *M's.* but others of the Clergy-accusers and Prosecutors of their Brethren. Almost all that I remember that write against me, agree in such misreporting matters of fact, yea the most publick, of the persons, place and time, which our senses have given us notice of, that we must believe them with as great difficulty as we must believe Transubstantiation, even in opposition to all our senses and experience. And whether those men be fit Vindicaters of the Bishops and Councils above a Thousand years ago (which are blamed by the Historians of their own Age, and by their own Confessions, and by their most fervent Defenders) who notoriously misreport the persons, and actions of their own Place and Age, I think it is not hard to judge. I will

I will instance in Twenty particulars of publick notice; for those against particular persons, even my self, are not to be numbred.

I. It is now commonly taken for true, that the present Nonconformists, who gave in their Desires for Concord 1660. are of the same Judgment as those called Nonconformists heretofore, and whatever can be raked up out of *Christ. Goodman*, *Knox*, *Kilby*, or is reported by *Bancroft*, is partly chargeable on them, when as their proposed Desires yet shew the world that they never made any motion against many things by those aforesaid scrupled, in Doctrine, Worship, and Ceremony.

And it is commonly supposed by them, that the present Conformity is but the same as the Old, and the Case no harder to us: And this notwithstanding all the still visible Acts and Alterations, and Additions, which attest the contrary to all the world.

II. In most of their Invectives the present Nonconformists are argued against, as if they had been in the Civil War against the King; or had been guilty of it more than the Conformists. And that War is made a Reason of their Silencing; whereas so few of them had any hand in it, that I have many times told them, that if they will Silence none but those that they can prove guilty of any War, or Rebellion, or Sedition, the rest of us will give them a thousand Thanks, though we suffer our selves. Few of the present Nonconformists were then in the Ministry, and of those few that were, few now living meddled with War.

III. They are so confident that the Parliament and Army that began the War in *England*, were Nonconformists, yea Presbyterians, and not of the Church of *England*, that Mr. *Hinkley*, & here Mr. *Morrice*, make a renouncing of their Senses or Understandings necessary to the believing of it. And yet they might as well tell us, that they were all Turks or Papists. Are not a Parliament and an Army things publick enough to be known in the same Age? When we name to them the Chief Lords and Commons, and Chief Commanders, yet (and lately) living, who are known still to live in their own Communion; and when we challenge them to name Three Presbyterians that were then in the House of Lords, or the House of Commons; or many that were at first Commanders in the Army; and we name them the Men that then Commanded, who were commonly known

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to be Conformists of the Church of *England*. And if they will not believe their present practice and profession they may yet go to them and be satisfied from their own mouths what were their former Principles. I have told them of a most credible Member of that Parliament yet living, who hath oft profest to me that he knew but one Presbyterian in the House of Commons when the war began, and I have named that one man to them, to try if they can name another. I expect not that they should believe me, or such other concerning those whom we knew: But they may believe the men themselves yet living, & their most familiar Friends.

Yea the Records of many foregoing Parliaments, with *Laud's* Life written by Dr. *Heylin* fully sheweth them that the difference arose 1. About the fear of Popery, (and *Arminianism* as they thought tending towards it) 2. About Property, Loan-mony, Knight-mony and after Ship-mony, &c. 3. About Imprisonment of members and other Gentlemen. And these were still the quarrel.

But saith Mr. *M. How then shall we believe our senses. Anſ.* See Reader, whether his most confident Errours about past things be any wonder. He is not so sure of what he saith of the old Prelates, or the *Nestorians, Eutychians, &c.* as he is that he must believe his Senses: And his very senses tell him that a Parliament, even Lords, Commons, and an Army, many of whom are yet living, were of another opinion in Religion than ever they were then acquainted with, and which was known to very few in *England* till afterward. And this contrary to their Profession and practice and the senses of their acquaintance. Lords are Persons of so publick notice that they may easily yet be informed of the living and the dead: In the Army the Chief Commanders were the E. of *Essex*, the E. of *Bedford* (yet living) Sir *John Merrick*, the E. of *Peterborough*, *Dolbiere*, the E. of *Stamford*, the Lord *Hastings* (E. of *Huntington*) the Lord *Rochford* (E. of *Dover*) the Lord *Fielding* (E. of *Denbigh*) the Lord *Mandevile* (E. of *Manchester*) the Lord *Roberts* (now Earl of *Radnor* and President of his Majesties Council) the Lord St. *Johns*, (killed at *Keinton* Fight.) Only the Lord *Say*, and Lord *Brook* were known Independents; and whether the Lord *Wharton* (yet living) was then for Bishops or against them I know not; but all the rest were of the Church of *England*. And so were the other Collonels, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, the late Lord *Hollis*, Col. *Will. Bampfield*, Col.

Tho. Grantham, Col. *Tho. Ballard*, C. Sir *William Fairfax*, Col. *Charles Essex*, Col. Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Col. Sir *Will. Waller*, Col. *Edwin Sandys*, Cap. Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*; and I think then Sir *Will. Constable* and Col. *Hampden*. What mind Sir *Will. Balsoore* was of I know not: But I know his Country man Col. *Brown* was too far from a Puritane.

But saith Mr. *M.* [1. *It's well the Bishops had no share in it*] *Anf.* Let *Heylin* tell you what hand the difference between A. Bishop *Abbats* Church of *England* and *Laud*'s then little Party had in the preparations. 2. And was the A. Bishop of *York* no Bishop, who afterward was a Commander for the Parliament.

But saith he, [*I pray where were the Presbyterians when the Parliament took up Arms: Were they not then in being?*] *Anf.* An excellent Historian! that maintaineth Parliament and Army were such, as he knows not whether they were then in being. Yes Sir, they were in *Holland*, and *France* and *Geneva*, and *Scotland*; and in *England* there was one *John Ball*, and one Mr. *Langley*, and a few more such old Nonconformists that never were in Arms, and old *John Dod*, and one Mr. *Geree* that was against the war and dyed for grief of the Kings death: But among those called Puritans, few knew what Presbytery was, till the *Scots* afterward brought it in. Much less did Lords, Commons, and Army know it. In your sense Sir they were not then in being, and therefore could not fight.

It appears by *Bancroft* and others that there had been once Presbyterians in *England*: But they were dead, and few even of the few Nonconforming Ministers succeeded them in the Study of that point.

But saith he, [*Were they none of them in the house*] *Anf.* Yes, one [*or did they protest against the proceedings of the Episcopal and Erastians? Anf.* That one went with them. And *Non entis non sunt accidentia.*]

But saith he [*Can Mr. B. believe* (or *think any one else so weak as to be imposed on in a matter so notorious*) *that it was a Parliament of Episcopals*, and *Erastians and not Presbyterians that began the war?*]

Anf. Thus youngmen that know not whom they talk of can controle the most publick matter of fact by their conjectures. Go ask the worthy Master of the Rolls Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, whose Speeches were then printed: Ask Sir *Joh. Maynard* His Majesties

jesties Sergeant at Law who was one of them; or any other of them yet living. Ask them whether they knew themselves and their companions better than you, who it seems knew them not.

But saith he [*Were they Episcopals that voted down Episcopacy Root and Branch before the war begun*] *Ans.* 1. Have you proved that they did so? 2. Do you think that a contradiction? 1. They had got a belief that Bishop *Laud* had got such men into the Seats as were for a Syncretism with the Papists (described by *Heylin*) and against the Subjects Property and Liberty. And it was the *Men* and not the Office that offended them. 2. But because they were willing of the favour of the *Scots*, and those *Londoners* who were against the Bishops, they pleased them by voting down the present frame, intending to set up a moderate Episcopacy in its stead; Yea long after this when many Learned Divines in the Assembly declared themselves for Episcopacy, but not for Deans, Chancellors, &c. They altered the Covenant so as to describe the present frame only: And when the House of Lords took the Covenant, Mr. *Coleman* (an *Erastian*) gave it them openly, declaring, that it was not meer Episcopacy that this Covenant renounced, but only the *English* described Complicate form. And could they have had such Bishops as *Abbot* and the old Church of *England*, they had never gone thus far. 3. And they thought not Episcopacy itself so necessary, (though if moderate the best sort of Governments) as to hazard all for it, which they thought had been in danger. Even in 1640 *July* 17. They Voted a Diocesan in every County, with Twelve Divines to Govern.

But, saith he, [*Were they Episcopals that Petitioned the King at* York *for-Reformation in Discipline and Worship then*? i. e. *for abolishing Episcopacy and Common-Prayer?*] *Answ.* 1. Reforming is not Abolishing. 2. I answered that as to the last. When they feared that the Old House would fall on their heads, they were for pulling of it down, and building a New one, after such a Model as Bishop *Usher* after gave, and the *Germane*, *Swedish*, and *Danish* Churches have; which they called the Primitive Episcopacy: But before they could do it, they needed the *Scots* help, who brought in the Covenant, which they chose rather than to fall into the hands of those of whom they had such thoughts and fears, as I need not now describe. *Prin*'s History of *Laud*'s Tryal describeth them.

I would ask this confident Hiſtorian (*whoſe ſenſes tell him what Religion men were of contrary to their daily practice of communicating in the Pariſh-Churches conformably*) whether the Longeſt Parliament of all, which made the Acts of Uniformity, the Corporation and Veſtry Acts, the Two Acts againſt Conventicles, the *Militia* Act, &c. were Presbyterian or Epiſcopal? Verily, if theſe were Presbyterians, I am none, nor ever will be: We ſhall then have a ſtrange definition of a Presbyterian, ſuch as will take in Biſhop *Sheldon*, Biſhop *Morley*, Biſhop *Gunning*, and ſuch others. If not, did not the fear of Popery make that very Parliament begin to look ſo ſowrely on the Clergy, as produced that which I need not tell you of? And did not moſt of the ſame men meet in the next Parliament after, and look yet more ſuſpiciouſly on the Clergy? And the next yet more? And doth it follow that they were not Epiſcopal but Presbyterian? But ſome men are confident againſt the Sun-light, and the moſt notorious Publick Evidence. But I muſt confeſs that ſuch have ſhaken my belief of the meer Moral Evidence of moſt Hiſtory, and left me only certain of that which hath Evidence, which is truly Natural, in the Natural Impoſſibility of Conſpiracy in a Lie.

There were men heretofore that would ſwear that man was a Puritane, who would not ſwear and drink with them, and would pray in their Families, and read the Scriptures on the Lord's Day, while others were dancing. And the word [*Puritane*] is now vulgarly changed into [*Presbyterian*] (by the Clergies Conduct.) And there are ſome Clergy-men that will ſay, a man is a Presbyterian, who reproves them for Drunkenneſs and Swearing, and other Crimes, ſpecially if he would not have Nonconformiſts ruined and laid in Gaol with Rogues. In this ſenſe I deny not but Lords, Commons and Army, had many Puritanes or Presbyterians among them, who yet never knew what Presbytery was.

But, ſaith Mr. *M.* [*Were they Epiſcopal who pray the King at* Oxford *to aboliſh A. Biſhops and Biſhops, &c. that entred into a Solemn League and Covenant againſt Epiſcopacy, and for Reforming the Church after the Presbyterian Platform, and ſet up Presbytery by ſo many Ordinances?*]

Anſw. Diſtingue tempora is none of this Hiſtorians Principles. How long after the War begun was this Petition at *Oxford*, this Covenant, and theſe Ordinances? He proveth them Preſ-

byterians

byterians at first when they knew not what it was, because they were for Presbytery a year or two after: *Negatur Sequela.* The *Scots* taught afterwards the Assembly, and them that which they never knew before, 2. And all these Petitions & Ordinances shewed not what they preferred as best, but what they preferred before expected ruine. The Issue proved this, and *Heylin* confesseth it, and saith, They never set up Presbytery in any one place (which yet is not true, though they did not force it.)

3. Do you not know now living, those Episcopal Conformists, who refuse no part of your Conformity, and are much against Presbytery, who since the Discovery of the Papists Plot, are so much afraid of Popery, and so confident that too many of the Clergy are prepared for it, that a little more would turn them from you, though they love Presbytery as little as they love your selves.

In a word, The Old Clergy and the Parliament Men agreed. The New Clergy in Bishop *Laud*'s time distasted them; & the *Scots* Presbyterians helping them in their straits, partly turned some of them, and partly imposed on them unpleasing conditions.

But saith he, [*The Erastians and Independents were at first inconsiderable, and acted joyntly with the Presbyterians, &c.*]

Answ. Thus is History delivered to the deluded World! Neither Independency nor Presbytery were understood by many till the War was begun. The *Scots* Commissioners by degrees acquainted them with Presbytery, and Mr. *Burton*'s Protestation Protested, and the five Dissenters with Independency: Two or three Independents were in the House of Lords, and some few in the House of Commons: It was Episcopal-men that made up the main Body: These were of two sorts: The one sort thought Episcopacy of Divine Institution, but not Chancellors, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, Officials, *&c.* The other sort thought that Episcopacy, not rampant, was the best Government *Jure humano*; But that the Magistrate being Chief, might set it up, or take it down, as he see most for the common good. These were called by some *Erastians:* And that these at first were inconsiderable, is History written in despight of Evidence. Let any man 1. Read what Parliaments formerly said; 2. And what many *English* Divines wrote for the *Jus humanum* against the *Jus Divinum*; and what Testimony *Prin* hath given of it; 3. And what Dr. *Stillingfleet* hath produced for it in his *Irenicon*;

4. And

4. And how commonly it was owned by Conformists then in Conference; 5. And how commonly the Lawyers were for the Humane Right; 6. Yea and the Civilians themselves; and then let him take this Historian's word, if he tell Posterity that the Parliament and Army were not *English* men.

IV. These Historians candidly tell the world, that the Nonconformists, who offered their Desires for Concord 1660. were Presbyterians, and so are most of the Nonconformists now. Whereas they never made one motion for Presbytery, for Lay-Elders, for Ruling Classes or Assemblies, nor against Episcopacy; but only offered the Paper called A. Bishop *Usher*'s Reduction of Episcopacy to the Primitive Form; wherein neither A. Bishops, nor Bishops, nor Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, were taken down, or any of their Revenues, Lordships, or Parliament-Power. This is Presbytery with these Historians.

V. They make the world believe that the main Body of the Conformists, are such as suffered for the King, or complied not with the Directory and Times of Usurpation: Whereas it's publickly notorious, that there are about 9000 Parish-Churches in *England*, besides many hundred Chappels, & many Churches that had more than one Minister. And almost all these complied with the Times or Directory, as the Nonconformists did: And of all these, it was but about 2000 that Conformed not; so that 7000 or 8000 of them that had kept in, did on a sudden turn Conformists. And divers that had been in Arms for the Parliament: Yea, some that had written for the Engagement when I wrote against it; yea some that had spoken or written *tantum non* a Justification of the Killing of the King. And of those that joyned with us in our Proposals for Concord, Dr. *Worth*, and Dr. *Reignolds* were made Bishops, and divers others did Conform.

VI. These Historians would make the world believe that the Present Church, and such as they, did more than the Parliamentarians, and Presbyterians, and Nonconformists, to restore the King; when it is notoriously known, how oft their Attempts were defeated, and what the *Scots* Army under *Hamilton* underwent, to say nothing of the next; and of the Lord *Delamore*'s Attempt, and what the Restored Parliament did: But sure I am, that the Old Parliament Souldiers, and Presbyterian Commanders and Souldiers in General *Monk*'s Army, with those in *England* and *Ireland* that joyned with him, and Sir *Thomas Allen* Lord

Lord Mayor, with the *Londoners*, at the perſuaſion of the Preſbyterian Miniſters, drawing General *Monk* to joyn with them, did the main work, which the Council and Parliament after finiſhed. When moſt of theſe men that will not endure the oblivion of Diſcords, nor the Reconciling and Union of the King's Subjects, do but ſtart up to revile others, and blow the Coals again, and reap the fruit of other mens labours, that deſire but to live in Peace.

VII. That there are able worthy men that Conform, we are far from denying; and we earneſtly deſire their Concord, and the ſucceſs of their Labour, and I hope love them as our ſelves. But whereas the Hiſtory of this Party doth proclaim how much better and abler Miniſters than the Nonconformiſts are generally put into their Places, that are no Novices or Ignorant Youths, no Drunkards, nor ſcandalous, but more laborious, skilful Labourers, I will ſay nothing, but let the Countries judge.

VIII. And whether it be true that there is no need of the Nonconformiſts Miniſtry, but the Churches are ſufficiently ſupplied without them, both as to the number and quality of their Teachers, I have in my Apology enquired; and with godly men it's eaſily judged.

IX. And whether it be true, that it was only for the Kings or Biſhops cauſe that the Parliament put out all, or moſt of them that were heretofore removed, I leave to the Witneſſes and Articles againſt them. I am ſure I and my neighbour Miniſters petitioned that none that were tolerable pious Miniſters, might be put out for being for the King or Biſhops.

X. It is commonly now recorded and reported that the Preſbyterians and thoſe that now conform not put down Catechizing, and turned the Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue out of the Church-Service. Whereas (if ſome few Independents did any of this, it is more than I know, but) in all our Countrey, and where I came, I remember no Churches that did not uſe the Creed openly at their baptizing any, and the Decalogue frequently read out of *Exod.* 20. or *Deut.* 5. and the Lords prayer frequently; as we did conſtantly. But ſome thought that we were not bound to uſe it every time they prayed. And the Directory commendeth all theſe to them. And all our Countrey agreed not only to Catechize publickly, but to take larger time

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on the week daies to Catechize every family.

XI. Theſe Hiſtorians ſay that I and ſuch others take the things which we conform not to, to be but inconveniences and not ſins; And that we keep the Nation in Schiſme while we confeſs the things to be but Indifferent And our writings are viſible in which we profeſt the contrary, and laboured by many arguments to prove it and proteſted that we would conform if we took them or to be ſins. And we gave in a Catalogue of what we judged to be ſins: And this before the New Conformity was impoſed: And ſince the fierceſt diſpleaſure is againſt us for telling them what we account Sin, and how great: When many years together our Rulers and the People were told that we confeſſed them indifferent and refuſed them but to avoid offending our followers.

XII. We frequently hear from them that we oppoſe Epiſcopacy becauſe we cannot be Biſhops our ſelves: When its known that nothing could more put men out of all ſuch hopes than the Presbyterians Endeavours that both their power and wealth ſhould be taken down: And he that hath any deſires of a Biſhoprick ſhould ſure be for the keeping of them up. And the ſame men reprove us for refuſing Biſhopricks and Deanries, and ſay we did it to pleaſe the People.

XIV. The new Hiſtorians would make us believe that the Reformed Church of *England* before Biſhop *Lauds* time were of their mind that now call themſelves Biſhops and Doctors of the Church of *England*, in holding as they do, that there is an Univerſal humane Soveraignty with Legiſlative and Judicial power over all the Churches on earth: and that this is in Councils, or an Univerſal Colledge of Biſhops; of which the Pope may be allowed to be preſident, and *Principium Unitatis, &c.* and that he muſt be obeyed as Patriarch of the Weſt; and ſo we muſt be under a forreign Juriſdiction. Whereas it is notoriouſly known that before Biſhop *Lauds* time the doctrine of this Church was quite Contrary, as may be ſeen at large in the Apology, the Articles of Religion, the writings of the Biſhops and Doctors; Yea they writ copiouſly to prove that the Pope is Antichriſt, and put it into their Liturgy. And Dr. *Heylin* tells us that the Reaſon why Biſhop *Laud* got it out was, that it might not offend the Papiſts and hinder our reconciliation with them; And the Oath of Supremacy ſweareth us againſt all forreign Juriſdiction.

XV. The ſame Hiſtorians would make us believe that theſe

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mens doctrine is now the doctrine of the Church of *England* or agreeable to it. Whereas the Oath of Allegiance is ſtill in force, and ſo are the Homilies, and the Articles of Religion and the Laws and Canons for the Kings Supremacy againſt all forreign Juriſdiction. And there is no change made which alloweth of their doctrine: And the Church doctrine muſt be known by its publick writings, and not by the opinions of new riſen men.

XVI. The new Hiſtorians make the Nonconforming Miniſters to be men groſly ignorant, preaching falſe doctrine, of wicked principles and lives, and not fit to be ſuffered out of Gaols. And yet theſe 19. or 20. years how few of them have been convict of any falſe doctrine? And I have not heard of four in *England* that have ever been convict ſince they were caſt out, of being once drunk, or fornicating, cheating, ſwearing, or any immorality, unleſs preaching and not ſwearing, Subſcribing, &c. be ſuch, nor for falſe doctrine.

XVII. The new Hiſtorians have made thouſands believe that the doctrine or opinions of the Nonconformiſts is for ſedition and rebellion; And that it is for this that they refuſe to renounce the obligation of the Covenant as to all men beſides themſelves and that they refuſe to ſubſcribe that it is not lawful on any pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt any Commiſſioned by the King. Whereas we have at large in a ſecond Plea for peace opened our judgments about Loyalty and obedience, and none of them will tell us what they would have more, nor where our profeſſion is too ſhort or faulty. Nor have they convict any of my acquaintance of preaching any diſloyal doctrine.

XVIII. Yea they have by writing, preaching and talking made multitudes believe that the Nonconformiſts or Presbyterians have been long hatching a rebellion againſt the King, and have a Plot to take down Monarchy under pretence of oppoſing Popery. And how far theſe Hiſtorians are to be believed, true Proteſtants by this time partly underſtand.

XIX. Yea theſe Hiſtorians have made multitudes believe that the Parliaments that have been diſolved here of late years have been deſigning to change the Government of Church and ſtate, under pretence of oppoſing Popery. As if that Parliament that did that for them and againſt us which is done, and made all the Acts which are for the Renunciation of the Covenant, and for all the Declarations, Subſcriptions and Practices Impoſed, and for Fining us 20 *l.* and 40 *l.* a Sermon, and laying us in Gaols,

had been for Nonconformists, and against Episcopacy; and they that made the *Militia* Act, and such other had been against the King, or his Prerogative: Or the other following had not been of the same Religion.

XX. But the boldest part of their History, is their description of the two sorts of the People in *England*, those that are for the present Nonconformists, and those that are against them. Those that are against them, they account the most Religious, Temperate, Chast, Loyal, Credible, and in a word, the best people through the Land (for of our Rulers I am not speaking.) And those that are for the Nonconforming Ministers, they defame as the most proud, hypocritical, treacherous, disloyal, covetous, false, and in a word, the worst people in the Land; or as *Fowlis* saith, the worst of all mankind, and unfit to live in humane Society. How long will it be ere the sober people of this Land believe this Character? One would think that the quality of the common Inhabitants of the Land should not be a Controversie, or unknown thing. All that I will say to this History, is, to tell the Reader the utmost of my observation and experience from my Youth up, concerning these two sorts of men.

Where I was bred before 1640. (which was in divers places) I knew not one Presbyterian Clergy-man, nor Lay, and but three or four Nonconforming Ministers. Nay till Mr. *Ball* wrote for the Liturgy and against *Can*, and *Allen*, *&c.* and till Mr. *Burton* Published his Protestation protested, I never thought what Presbytery or Independency were, nor ever spake with a man that seemed to know it: And that was in 1641. when the War was brewing. In the place where I first lived, and the Country about, the People were of two sorts: The generality seemed to mind nothing seriously but the body and the world: They went to Church and would answer the Parson in Responds and thence go to dinner, and then to play: They never prayed in their families, but some of them going to bed, would say over the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, & some of them the *Hail Mary*: All the year long, not a serious word of holy things, or the Life to come, that I could hear of, proceeded from them. They read not the Scripture, nor any good Book or Catechism. Few of them could read, or had a Bible: They were of two ranks; the greater part were good Husbands as they called them, and savoured of nothing but their business or Interest in the World; the rest were Drunkards: Most were Swearers, but not equally: Both

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ſorts ſeemed utter ſtrangers to any more of Religion than I have named; and loved not to hear any ſerious talk of God, or Duty, or Sin, or the Goſpel, or Judgment, or the Life to come: But ſome more hated it than others: The other ſort were ſuch as had their Conſciences awakened to ſome regard of God and their Everlaſting State; and according to the various meaſures of their underſtanding, did ſpeak and live as ſerious in the Chriſtian Faith, and would much enquire what was Duty, and what was Sin, and how to pleaſe God, and to make ſure of Salvation; and made this their Buſineſs and Intereſt, as the reſt did the world. They read the Scripture, and ſuch Books as *The Practice of Piety*; *and* Dent's *Plain Man's Path Way*; *and* Dod *on the Commandments*, &c. They uſed to pray in their Families, and alone; ſome on the Book, and ſome without: They would not Swear, nor Curſe, nor take God's Name lightly: They feared all known ſin: They would go to the next Pariſh-Church to hear a Sermon when they had none at their own; would read the Scripture on the Lord's Day, when others were playing: Theſe were, where I lived, about the number of two or three Families in twenty; and theſe by the reſt were called Puritanes, and derided as Hypocrites and Preciſians, that would take on them to be Holy: And eſpecially if they told any one of his Swearing, Drunkenneſs, or Ungodlineſs, they were made the common ſcorn. Yet not one of many of them ever ſcrupled Conformity to Biſhops Liturgy or Ceremonies, and it was godly Conformable Miniſters that they went from home to hear: And theſe Miniſters being the ableſt Preachers, and of more ſerious Piety, were alſo the Objects of the Vulgar Obloquy as Puritanes and Preciſians themſelves; and accordingly ſpoke againſt by many of their Tribe, and envyed for being preferred by godly men.

This being the Condition of the Vulgar where I was, when I came into the acquaintance of many Perſons of Honour and Power, and reputed Learning, I found the ſame ſerioufneſs in Religion in ſome few before deſcribed, and the ſame daily ſcorn of that ſort of men in others, but differently cloathed: For theſe would talk more bitterly, but yet with a greater ſhew of reaſon againſt the other, than the ignorant Country People did: And they would ſometime talk of ſome Opinions in Religion, and ſome of them would uſe ſome of the Common-Prayer in

their Houſes, and ſome of them would ſwear, but ſeldom, and ſmall Oaths, and lived ſoberly and civilly; but ſerious talk of God or Godlineſs, or that which tended to ſearch and reform the Heart and Life, and ſeriouſly prepare for the Life to come, or to awaken Souls to a care of their State and Salvation, they would at leaſt be very weary to hear, if not deride as Puritanical. Mr. *Robert Bolton* a Conformiſt, hath fully opened all this of both ſorts in his *Diſcourſe of True Happineſs*, and *Directions for walking with God*: And how the name *Puritane* was then uſed.

This being the Fundamental Diviſion where I came, ſome of theſe that were called Puritanes and Hypocrites, for not being Hypocrites, but ſerious in the Religion they profeſſed, would ſometimes get together, and as Drunkards and Sporters would meet to drink and play, they would (in ſome very few places, where there were many of them) meet after Sermon on the Lord's Daies to Repeat the Conforming Miniſters Sermon, and ſing a Pſalm, and Pray. For this, and for going from their own Pariſh-Churches, they were firſt envied by the Readers, and dry Teachers, whom they ſometime went from, and next proſecuted by Apparitors, Officials, Archdeacons, Commiſſaries, Chancellors, and other Epiſcopal Inſtruments: For in former times there had been divers Presbyterian Nonconformiſts, who earneſtly pleaded for Pariſh-Diſcipline (as *Bucer* alſo did in *Oper. Anglic.*) And to ſubdue theſe, divers Canons were made; which ſerved the turn againſt theſe Meetings of the Conformable Puritanes, and going from their own Pariſh-Churches; though the Old Presbyterians were dead, and very few ſucceeded them. About as many Nonconformiſts as Counties were left; and thoſe few moſt ſtuck at Subſcription and Ceremonies, which were the hinderance of their Miniſtry; and but few of them ſtudied or underſtood the Presbyterian or Independent Diſciplinary Cauſes.

But when theſe Conformable Puritanes were thus proſecuted, it bred in them hard thoughts of the Biſhops and their Courts, as Enemies to ſerious Piety, and Perſecutors of that which they ſhould promote: Suffering bred this Opinion and Averſation. And the ungodly Rabble rejoyced at their troubles, and applauded the Biſhops for it, and were every where ready to ſet the Apparitors on them, or to ask them, Are you holier or wiſer than the Biſhops? And their Accuſations were readily entertained

tertained: This much inclined them to hearken to them that were averse to Conformity, when such rose up, and to such as were more against the Bishops, than there was cause; so that by this time, the Puritanes took the Bishops to be Captains and the Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commissaries, Officials and Paritors, their Officers, and the Enemies of serious Godliness, and the vicious Rabble to be as their Army, to suppress true conscientious Obedience to God, and care of mens Salvation. And the censured Clergy and Officers took the Censurers to be Schismaticks, and Enemies to the Church, unfit to be endured, and fit to be prosecuted with reproach and punishment; so that the said Puritanes took it to be but the common Enmity that since *Cain*'s daies hath been in the world, between the Serpent's and the Woman's Seed: And when the persons of Bishops, Chancellors, Officials, Apparitors, *&c.* were come under such a repute, it was easie to believe what should be said against their Office. And the more the Bishops thought to cure this by punishment, the more they increased the Opinion, that they were persecuting Enemies of Godliness, and the Captains of the Prophane.

And when such sinful Beginnings had prepared men, the Civil Contentions arising, those called Puritanes, mostly were against that side which they saw the Bishops and their Neighbour Enemies for: And they were for the Parliament the rather, because they seemed desirous to Reform the Bishops, and Restore the Liberty of those whom they prosecuted for the manner of their serving God. Yet they desired, where-ever I was, to have lived peaceably at home: But the Drunkards and Rabble that formerly hated them, when they saw the War beginning, grew inraged; and if a man did but Pray, and Sing a Psalm in his house, they would cry [*Down with the Roundheads*] (a word then new made for them,) and put them in fear of sudden violence, and afterwards brought the King's Souldiers to plunder them of their goods, and they were fain to run into holes to hide their persons (*Martin Crusius* in his *Turco-Gracia* describeth much the like Case of his Father.) And when their Goods were gone, and their Lives in continual danger, they were forced to fly for Food and Shelter: To go among those that hated them, they durst not, when they could not dwell among such at home. And thus thousands run into the Parliaments Garrisons, and having nothing there to live upon, became Souldiers.

We

We had an honeſt very Old *Arminian* (Mr. *Nayler*) in *Coventry*, that was againſt the Parliaments Cauſe; and he would ſay, [*The King hath the beſt Cauſe, and the Parliament the beſt Men.*] And that he wondred how it came to paſs, that the generality of ſober Religious men, ſhould be all in the wrong, and the moſt Irreligious and Prophane, and Debauched be in the right.] But he knew but the Vulgar, and not the Grandees, who no doubt were many of them men of very laudable accompliſhments.

And as the feud of the Biſhops and their Officers and Curates againſt the aforeſaid exerciſes of Religion occaſioned this ſad Diviſion, ſo did the ſenſe of this in the minds of thoſe called Puritanes continue too long. Many a time have I ſeen abundance in great Perplexity, ſaying [We believed them that profeſſed that they took not Arms againſt the King, but to execute the Law on Delinquents and defend themſelves and the Kingdom from them: We abhor the Regicides and Uſurpers: We would reſtore the King, if we were ſtronger than the Army. And yet we are in doubt how far we ſhould actively contribute to our own calamity: For though the King deſerve more than we can do, we doubt not but the Biſhops will increaſe our Burdens and make greater havock in the Church than heretofore] And many ſate ſtill on this account, and as far as ever I could diſcern, next the Power of the Army, the fear of the Biſhops was the chief delay of the Kings return.

I knew not all *England*; but according to the Extent of my acquaintance, I have truly told you the quality of thoſe then called Puritans and of their Common adverſaries.

And on which ſide now proportionably are moſt of the moſt underſtanding, ſober, charitable, conſcionable, and ſeriouſly religious Perſons, and on which moſt of the contrary (not ſpeaking of any Magiſtrates) I think it neither my work, nor our New Hiſtorians to tell: For people that live among their neighbours, will believe their ſenſes and experience, what ever either he or I ſhall ſay. And I am well aſſured that this argument (which I think was not found) [*We cannot believe that God will ſuffer the Generality of the Religious to be deceived in ſo great a caſe, and the moſt of the debauched ignorant haters of ſerious Godlineſs to be in the right,*] did prevail with very many that could not try the Cauſe by the Laws and conſtitution of the Kingdom.

§ 2. If I ſhould recite the particular unjuſt reports of multitudes

titudes of these Writers it would be tiresome and loathsome: Yea all the mistakes of this Eminent Historian are too many to be named: But I will here name one which seems at once to smite and smile.

Pag. 227. [" *There is a temper which Mr.* B. *is acquainted* " *with that, is not to be prevailed on, either by threats or promises* " *from the Magistrate; and seems to hate nothing so much as compli-* " *ance with Superiors: There are some that scorn to preach by the* " *Licence of the Government, and place the Kingdom of Christ purely* " *in opposition to Law and Magistrates.*]

Answ. Note the credibility of this Historian. 1. Doth their accusation of my flattering the Usurpers (whom I more openly disowned than most of his Fraternity) agree with this?

2. Did my long and earnest Petitioning to be accepted but in a poor Curates place, though I Preacht for nothing, yea if it were but in some ignorant obscure Village, and only to preach over the Catechism, agree with this?

3. Doth my large profession of Subjection in my Second Plea for Peace not yet blamed by them herein agree with this?

4. I willingly took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and an Oath to be true to the King as his Chaplain in ordinary, and had this any such signification?

5. Did my begging in vain a License from Bishop *Morley*, and craving and obtaining one of Bishop *Sheldon*, signifie this?

6. But the smile is that one would think by these words, I might have preached by the Governours License and would not. And is that true? Did I not preach by the Kings License, and the Clergy blame me for it? And as for the Bishops License I do profess that it's yet in force, and I do preach by it. If I mistake it is not my refusing it. If he intimate as he seems, that by the Bishops License I might have had leave to preach in the Parish Churches, it's now too late: But I would I had known how to get it. I confess one Summer in the Countrey about 25 miles off, I did venture upon the Credit of my License (at *Amersham*, *Chesham*, *Rickmersworth*, &c.) But it was too pleasing work to me to be continued: One Church in *Southwark* I was once let into, but no more in or near *London*. I once craved leave of the moderate Bishop that now is, that without putting down the meeting where I was in that great Parish of St. *Martin's*, I might preach sometime there and once a day at the Chappel

which

which I built, which the Parish Incumbent useth, and that he would quiet the Justices to that end, and thought I had had his consent: But the Constables and other Officers stood from that day about a quarter of a year together every Lord's Day at the door of the former place of Assembly, to have apprehended me by the Justices warrant if I had gone. And never could I hear of a man in *London* that was willing I should come into his Pulpit; but the best have refused it. Nor did I much desire it here: For it is not to preach to them that have no need that is my request; but to such as cannot come into the Parish Church or otherwise truely need our help. Once I did try to have got leave two miles out of the City to have preacht a Kinswomans Funerall Sermon on the right of my License: But the Minister said, He must first ask the Bishop, and then denyed me.

Reader, these are the Historians that Charge me with misreport of ancient History, visible in the most partial Authors on the other side: Judge of them by their Report of the History of our Place and Age.

CHAP. XV.

Mr. M's. *way of getting belief, by a Magisterial condemning the most credible Historians, and authorizing whom he please.*

§ 1. IF we had not *Eusebius*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, how naked should we be left, and much unacquainted with the case of the Church from the Apostles; (Besides *Theodorets* History) till 440. And what a shake is given to the Credit of all these by Mr. *M.* and others of greater name?

Though *Eusebius* himself be by *Petavius* and many other Papists accounted an *Arian*, yea and seemingly proved such, and by *Bellarmine de Script. Eccles.* its said that *Athanasius* so calls him, and *Jerom* calls him the *Arian* Signifer and Prince, and the 7th General Council so judgeth him, yet *Socrates* vindicateth him, and thinks he is wronged: And indeed though his own Epistle written to his Flock be not justifyable, incautelous and unjustifyable words were too Common before his daies (as *Petavius* hath too fully proved) with those that we must not yet call *Arians*. But while *Bellarmine* and Mr. *M.* charge *Socrates* and

Sozomen

Sozomen as *Novatians* that is Hereticks themselves, they deprive *Eusebius* of much of their defence; and render his History the more suspicious.

§ 2. And though I know Mr. *M.* hath more partners herein, I never saw yet any credible proof that either of them were *Novatians*: Good Christians are not ashamed nor afraid to make profession of their Religion. And they are so far from professing it, that they oft speak of the *Novatians* in disowning words. But they praised them for the good that is in them! And would not any impartial Historian do the like? Must a man rail at any party, or hide their Virtues or else be taken to be one of them? I confess that such as Mr. *M.* do fully acquit themselves from the suspicion of being Presbyterians or Nonconformists. But so did not A. Bishop *Grindall*, Bishop *Jewel*, A. Bishop *Abbot* A. Bishop *Usher*, and many more such. Sure Candor and Impartiality is Laudable in Historians; And *Thuanus* is most honoured for that. And notwithstanding Mr. *M's* assertions of the contrary, I profess my self a lover & honourer of the worth of many of the aspiring Bishops that corrupted the Church, and of many Popes, and of many that continue Church corruptions in the height; even many of the Papists Cardinals, Schoolmen and Jesuites. Who will not love and praise the excellent Learning of such as *Suarez*, *Vasquez*, *Victoria*, *Petavius* and abundance such? Who will not praise the piety of such as *Gerson*, *Borromæus*, *Sales*, and many others, though we nevertheless disown their Popery? For my part I highly value the Clearenes, of multitudes of the Schoolmen, and that they have not in whole loads of their volumes so much malicious railing as the Jesuits and many of our late Conformists have in a few sheets. Doth it follow that I am a Papist because I praise them, or that *Socrates* or *Sozomen* were *Novatians* because they speak well of their faith and piety.

There are abundance of Malignants, that acknowledge the Good Lives of those they call Puritanes (and if he had not had the late Wars between King and Parliament to fill all Mouths and Books against them, the Devil by this time might have been at a loss with what Accusations to reproach them. For he was put to use the *Voices* (no names) of [*Roundheads*, *Whigs*, &c. when their Revilers were called Drunkards, Swearers, Dam-me's, *&c.*] But they that confess the Good, reproach them as Hypocrites that do but counterfeit it. Doth this ac-

knowledgment prove them Puritanes. I suppose Mr. *M.* knoweth that no small number of Historians and Fathers confess the strictness of the *Novatians* Lives, and yet were no *Novatians*. And *Constantine*'s words to *Acesius* imply that he thought him singularly strict. And Mr. *M.* saith Pref. [*The* Novatians, *saith the Author, did not suffer much by this Edict, being befriended by the Emperour, who had an esteem for their Bishop of* C. P. *upon the account of his Holiness.*] And may not an Orthodox man confess the Piety of others?

§ 3. But Mr. *M.* is so Magisterial as to say, *Pag.* 322. *The story of* Theophilus, *and the Monks of* Nitria, *no reasonable man can believe, as it is related by* Socrates *and* Sozomen, *without loving a malicious Lie.*] So that *Socrates* and *Sozomen* either believed not themselves, or else *Loved a malicious Lie.*

And *Page* 319 he saith, [*The story of* Theophilus *his charging* Isidore *with double Letters, that whoever was Conquerour, he might apply himself to him in his name, is of the same piece with the rest of* Socrates *his story concerning that Bishop; and in all probability an invention of one of the Monks of* Nitria.]

It seems this Historian believeth Old Historians, as the matters seem probable or improbable to himself. And so we may take him for the Universal Expositor of History: It is not the Old Historians that we must believe, but his Conjectures. And thus he deals with divers others.

§ 4. For my part I profess, that before I had any Engagement in these Controversies, since I first read them, I took *Socrates* and *Sozomen* to be two of the most credible Historians that the Church had till their Times, and of many an Age after them. I said of them, as I use to do of *Thuanus*, A man may trace the footsteps of Knowledge, and impartial honesty, and so of Veracity in their very style. And there are few of the judicious Censurers of Historians, but do tell us of far more uncertainties in *Eusebius*, and after in *Nicephorus*, and most that followed, (as far as I am acquainted with such Censurers) than in these two. And if their History be shaken, our loss will not be small. And I doubt not but the Anathematizing and Condemning Spirit hath done hurt, which hath made *Eusebius* an undoubted *Arian*, and *Theodoret*, first a *Nestorian*, and after at the fifth General Council condemned some of his Writings, and imposed it on the whole Christian World to condemn them, though many never heard of them

them, and that made *Ruffinus* (and *Chryſoſtom*) *Originiſts*, and *Origen* a Heretick, condemned alſo by a General Council, and *Socrates*, and *Sozomen*, *Novatians*, *Epiphanius* an ignorant credulous Fabler, *Sulpitius Severus*, and *Beda*, two pious credulous Reporters of many feigned Miracles, and one a *Millenary*, *Nicephorus* a Fabler, *Anaſtaſius Bibl.* full of Falſhoods, *Philaſtrius* an ignorant Erroneous Hereticator, *Caſſianus* a *Semi-Pelagian*, *Caſſiodori Chronic. eſt farrago temulentiæ inquit Onuphrius Pan. Per nunquam cum Euſebio convenit inquit Voſſius*, &c. I ſay, Though it be no wrong to the Church to take them for fallible, and ſuch as have miſtakes (which the *Engliſh* Articles ſay even of General Councils) yet it wrongfully ſhaketh all our belief of Church Hiſtory to call their Credit in matters of fact into queſtion for their Errours or opinions ſake, without good Evidence that either they were ignorant, miſ-informed or wilfully lied. But if the *Novatians* were more ſtrict & preciſe than others, it's rather like that they were more and not leſs credible than others, and made more or not leſs conſcience of a lye. Certainly that which the reſt named are charged with is ſomewhat more as to Hiſtorical Credit than to be *Novatians*: So that if theſe men had been *Novatians*, I ſhould yet ſay by the Complexion of their Hiſtory that They are two of our moſt uſeful and credible Church-Hiſtorians.

§ 5. But when it ſerveth his turn he can gather out of *Sozomen* that even in *Conſtantine*'s time, *Conſtantinople* was [*Altogether a Chriſtian City*] Becauſe he mentioneth the great Enlargement of it; and great encreaſe of Chriſtianity: When as no man that lived could be a fitter judge of the number of Chriſtians in his time than *Chryſoſtom*: And he that conſidered that there and every where *Conſtantine* left all the Jews and Heathens uncompelled to be Chriſtians, yea and uſed them commonly in places of dignity and Government in City, Provinces and Armies, and that they continued in ſuch power under many Emperours after him, will hardly believe that in *Conſtantine*'s time *C. P.* had half or a quarter ſo many Chriſtians as were in the time of *Arcadius* and *Chryſoſtom*; And yet then *Chryſoſtom* conjectureth the Chriſtians to be an hundred thouſand, and all the City poor half as many, but the Jews and Heathens not to be numbred. See him one *Act* 4. *Hom.* 11. When he is making the moſt of their eſtate and numbers, ſaith he [*I pray you tell me*: *How great a number of all ſorts of men hath our City? How many Chriſtians*

will you that there be (That is will you grant, or do you think there be ?) *Will you that there be* δέκα μυριάδες, *an hundred thousand ? But how great is the Number of Jews and Ethnicks ? How many pounds of Gold have been gathered ?* (or Myriads ?) *And how great is the Number of the Poor ?* (that is, of the whole City ?) *I do not think they are above fifty thousand* (*Commelin.* hath put an hundred thousand, as *Erasmus* Translation, I suppose by the Errour of the Press.) Now if there was in *Chrysostom's* daies but an hundred thousand (which many say is not near so many as there be in two Parishes here, *Martins* and *Stepney*) it is not like that in *Constantine's* Time they were half so many at most. And yet I am far from thinking that there was then no more than usually met in an Assembly, or could so meet.

§ 6. The Jesuites, *Valesius* and *Sirmondus*, I am no fit person to censure. But I am not satisfied why their Credit should go as far with me as it doth with him: I have before spoke of *Valesius's* Recording *Grotius* as one that designed to bring many with him into the *Roman* Church. And *Grotius* himself saith, That many of the *English* Bishops were of his mind, as Bishop *Bromhall*, and many Doctors by defending him seem to be: And yet when I wrote my *Christian Concord*, and *The Grotian Religion*, how many censured me as a Slanderer, for saying less than *Valesius* doth. Yet I am false with this Historian, and *Valesius* is a credible Jesuite.

And he vouchsafeth to tell us the Judgment of *Valesius*, that *Eusebius Nicomed.* was no *Arian*, pag. 332. where he saith [Eusebius *of* Nicomedia *was no Heretick in the Judgment of* Valesius: *But if he were, he was not an Heretick, because he did not begin the Arch-Heresie, but followed* Arius.]

What the meaning is of the latter words I know not [*If he were* (an Heretick) *he was not an Heretick*] I conjecture it is one of the *almost Infinite Errata's* of the Printer: (But he supposeth my Printer's to be mine own:) But that *Eusebius Nicomed.* should be no Heretick, whom all the stream of credible Historians make to be that Arch-Heretick (I say not the first) who corrupted *Constantine* his Court and Son, which introduced the prevalency of *Arianism* to the almost Ruine of the Orthodox Church, is a thing which he that believeth *Valesius* in, must prefer the Credit of one Jesuite that lived above a thousand years after, before the whole current of the best Historians of the same,

ſame, and many following Ages. And did I ever ſo diſcredit the whole ſtream of Church-Hiſtorians, as on the word of one Jeſuite, to bring them under the ſuſpicion of ſuch a Lie? But I confeſs I am more inclined to believe a Jeſuite, and a Prelatiſt, when they excuſe any man of Hereſie, than when they accuſe him.

§ 7. In the Preface he tells us that["*Had I conſulted* Sirmond's "*Edition of the* French *Councils I muſt have wanted ſeveral Alle-*"*gations for the Congregational way, which are nothing elſe but corrupt* "*readings of the ancient Canons of the* Gallican *Church. Nor can we* "*ſuſpect* Sirmond *as too great a favourer of Dioceſan Biſhops, ſince it* "*is well known how he is charged by the Abbot of S.* Cyran *under the* "*name of* Petrus Aurelius, *for having falſified a Canon in the Council* "*of* Orange *to the prejudice of the Epiſcopal Order*] *Jeſuites care* "*as little for Biſhops as our Proteſtant Diſſenters can do.*] *Anſw.* I doubt not but *Sirmond* was a very Learned man, and had not the Conformiſts diveſted me of all Church-maintenance, I had been like to have bought his *French* Councils. In the mean time, that notice which others before him gave of the Acts and Canons of Councils, ſufficed to my furniture, fully to prove the Cauſe I maintained: But I confeſs his pretended reaſon no whit inducеth me to give more credit to a Jeſuite than to another man. Though *Albaſpineus* was a Biſhop, there is ſo much Judgment and Honeſty appears in his Obſervations, that I would ſooner believe him about Epiſcopacy, than a Jeſuite that you ſay is againſt it.

But it's as incredible to me, as the reſt of his ſpurious Hiſtory, that the *Jeſuites care as little for Biſhops as our Proteſtant Diſſenters can do.* Sure many of thoſe called Presbyterians and Independents, would have none at all. If this be true, then 1. The Jeſuites would have no Biſhops of *Rome*, though they be his ſworn Servants. 2. Then they would have no Biſhops to be ſubject to the Pope. 3. Then they would have all particular Churches to be without Biſhops, or to be unchurcht. 4. Then they would have Ordination without Biſhops. 5. Then they think not that an uninterrupted Succeſſion of Epiſcopal Ordination is neceſſary to Church or Miniſtry. 6. Then they think that Biſhops ſhould not confirm. 7. Then they are againſt the Councils of Biſhops, General or Provincial. 8. And againſt Dioceſans Government of the Pariſh Prieſts. And yet is a Jeſuite a Papiſt? Wonderful!

Wonderful! that they will venture their Lives in endeavours for the Church of *Rome*, and that they write so much of and for Bishops Councils, and yet are quite against them.

But if really this be so, you that take me for incredible, who am against but the Corruption of Episcopacy, do allow me to take *Sirmondus* and *Valesius*, and the rest of the Jesuites for incredible, who are as much against the very Office as our Dissenters can be? But what will not some Historians confidently say?

CHAP. XVI.

Mr. M's. *Observations on my Notes of credible and incredible History, Examined.*

§ 1. I. BEcause I suppose that common sound Senses are to be trusted: He 1. Infers that I was asleep, & thought that I saw all that I relate; that is, He that saith he must believe sense, implies that he seeth all that he reporteth: I am one of the unlearned, and this Logick is too hard for me: Let it be his own.

2. He concludes, *That we must not believe our senses, if they were not Presbyterians but Episcopal that begun the late War* (in *England*:) As if he had seen not only the Parliament (Lords and Commons) then, and the Army then (forty years ago almost) but had seen their Religion, or heard or read them then so profess it: Whereas I cannot learn yet whether he was then born, or of capable understanding, and hath neither sense nor reason for what he saith. The Case that we are in is very sad, when both sides say they have the Evidence of Sense it self against each other; what hope then of Reconciliation? They that are yet living, that were Lords, Commons, and Commanders, say their internal Sense and Self-knowledge told them, that they were no Presbyterians, but Episcopal; and their daily converse told them, that their Companions were mostly of the same Religion and Mind. But Young Men that never conversed with them, know them all better, and that infallibly by sense it self.

§ 2.

§ 2. II. Because I say, the History of the Gospel is certainly credible; it is ground enough to say, That *All is not Gospel that I write*; as if I had said it is.

§ 3. III. Because I say, *Prophets were sure of their Revelation*, he saith. *It may be Mr. B. heard a Bene scripsisti*: As if I had pretended to be a Prophet.

§ 4. IV. I said that History is certain even by Natural Evidence, when it is the common Agreement of all men of most contrary Interests, &c. in a matter of fact and sense to all that knew it. To which he saith [*The Superiority of Bishops over Presbyters is acknowledged by Catholicks, and Schismaticks and Hereticks, men of very contrary minds, dispositions and interests; and yet this Church-History would have us believe the contrary.*

Answ. This is our credible Historian.

1. He doth not tell us in what Ages it was so acknowledged; when those who doubt of the matter of fact, doubt but some of 100, some of 150, or 200 years: Doth any doubt whether it be so now?

2. He tells us not either what Species of Bishops the question is of, nor what Species of Presbyters, nor what the Superiority was.

3. He speaks without distinction or Exception, and so must be understood to say that *this Church history would have us to believe that even President Bishops* Ejusdem Ordinis *had* de facto *no Superiority at all over Presbyters in the same Churches and of the same order with them*, which is an untruth so gross as is no Credit to our Historian. I have named both more than one ranck of Bishops whose Superiority *de jure* I deny not: & Popes, Patriarchs, Primates, Dioceſans who depoſed the Bishops of single Churches, whose Superiority *de facto* I fully enough affirm, in the ages and degrees in which they did ascend.

If he say that he meant it [*Even from the Apostles time, and that of such Dioceſans as have scores or hundreds of true Churches and Altars without their particular Bishops, or any Presbyters that were* Ejusdem Ordinis *with the Bishops, and were* Episcopi Gregis, *and that had such Power of the Keys over their flocks, as ours have not: or that had so many such Assemblies that were no true Churches;*] if he will be proved a Historian worthy Credit, Let him give us any proof that all men described by him agreed *de facto* that there was so long, such a superiority of such Bishops. But these men

men deride distinguishing, and banish Logick, that is Reason, from their History.

§ 5. V. The next Evidence of certainty which I mentioned, was from [*continued Existent visible Effects which prove their Causes.*] And here this undistinguishing Historian is at it again. *The Superiority of Bishops over Presbyters is proved by the Laws and Customs of all Churches.* This hath the same answer, which I will not repeat. Either it falsly reporteth my denyal, or it falsly affirmeth that all Churches in all ages have left us visible Effects of the foresaid species. And I would he would help us that are ignorant therein with such History and Evidence from the begining of the Churches in *Scotland*, and in the Southern and Eastern Countreis that were without the Empire.

§ 6. VI. I said, that History is credible which speaketh consentingly against the known interest of the authors: and therefore I named few testimonies of the sins of Popes and Councils but of those that are their most Zealous Friends. To this he saith that my Characters of ancient Bishops are taken from their professed Enemies, [as my account of *Athanasius*, *Theophylus*, *Cyril*, and divers others.]

Ans. 1. My account of *Athanasius* is almost all, if not all, in his praise, and is not an enemies testimony there valid. If I mention the displeasure of *Constantine* against him it is not any Character of him, but of *Constantine* the Agent: Nor do I think *Constantine*, or *Eusebius Cæsar*: meet to be numbred with his Enemies; why did he not instance in some words of mine?

As to *Theophylus* and *Cyril*, I do not believe that he can prove that *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, and the Historians that Concur with them, were their Enemies. And if in reciting the Acts of the Councils I recite their Enemies words, so doth *Surius*, *Nicholinus*, *Binnius*, *Baronius* and all just writers of those acts. And I do not find that *Chrysostom* himself, or *Isidore Pelusiota* had any Enmity to them, nor Pope Innocent neither. Of the rest before.

§ 7. VII. The next degree of credibility that I mentioned is that which dependeth on the Veracity and fitness of the reporter. Of which I named nine things requisite.

Here he supposeth me one that is unfit; and particularly saith [*Whether any hath railed with greater intemperance, and less provocation*] *Ans.* 1. I am not the Author of the History of the mentioned Councils or Popes or Bishops, but the Transcriber. Let me

me be as bad as you, or any of your tribe have made me, that proveth not that *Socrates, Sozomen, Theodorite, Nicephorus, &c.* or *Binnius, Baronius, &c.* have misreported what they write. If I have misreported these authors in any material point, prove it and I will soon retract it.

As for my railing, I expect that title from all such whose faults I name, and call them to repentance: He that calls men to *Repent*, calleth them sinners, and that is Railing be it never so great.

His first instanced railing is Pag. 19. [*A few turbulent Prelates Persecute good men*] He saith thus I call the present Bishops of the Church of *England*; Doth he mean *All or some?* If *All* he is an untrue Historian: He may see many named before my Apology whom I except: And if I have named two I have annexed the proof.

The next is Pag. 46. [*silencing destroying Prelates*] *Ans.* Are there none such? Were not about 2000 here silenced? Do we not continue so and impoverished almost 20 years? Have none perished in prisons or with want? Do men call out for the execution of the Law, and plead for our Silencing as a good work, and take it for railing to have it named? Doth not Conscience recoil in these men when in Pulpits, preis and Conference they maintain it to be a good work, and tell the world how sinful a thing it is for rulers to suffer us out of Gaols? What, are you now ashamed of your meritorious works? Sure they are scant good if it be railing to name them. You will not say I rail, if I call you Preachers. And why do you say so, if I call you *Silencers*, if that be as good?

The next railing is Pag. 73 [*If all the proud, Contentious, ambitious, hereticating part of the Bishops, had been of this Christian mind* (to endure each other in small tollerable Differences) *What sins, Scandal and shame, what Crimes, confusion and miseries had the Christian world escaped?*] And is this railing? Hath the Christian world had no such Bishops these 1000 years? Have not whole Kingdoms been forbidden all Gods Publick worship by such, even *France* and *England* among the rest? Is it railing to tell for what little things they not only Silenced men, but burned and murdered many thousands? Were they not proud ambitious Prelates that deposed and abused *Lud. Pius*, and those that in Council decreed the digging all the dead Bishops out of their graves to be burnt as Hereticks, who were for the Em-

perours power of Investitures? Do I rail if I say that *Greg.7.* was Proud and ambitious when he threatened the Prince of *Calaris* with the loss of his dominions, unless he made his Bishop shave his beard? Do not *Jewel*, and all Protestant writers say worse than this of Papist Bishops? Is there any such thing as pride silencing, burning, &c. If yea, must it never be known, reproved, repented of and so forgiven to the penitent? And if yea, than how shall it be known without proper names? By what name should I have called *Silencing* but its own and so of the rest? Gods power over Conscience is marvellous that sin cannot endure its own name.

The next railing is the word [*Hereticating.*] And how could I have known if he had not told me that this word is railing? Did not the Bishops take it for a great service of God, and is it railing to name it? It's true I used one word instead of a Sentence for brevity, to signifie the Bishops culpable over doing in proclaiming men Hereticks. He that doth not believe that they did not well, nor do not to this day in Cutting off from the Church of Christ all those whole Countreys of Christians called *Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites* and the *Monothelites* and many such I cannot save him from himself who will own all such sin and contract the guilt of it. Hath not Bishop *Epiphanius* made us more Hereticks than he needed? Hath not Bishop *Philastrius* made many more than the Devil himself made? Lest this pass for railing once more I will name some of them.

1. *His 11th sort of Hereticks are those that kept* Easter-day *at a wrong time* (*as our* Brittains *and* Scots *did.*

2. *The* Millenaries *are the 12th (such as many of the antient fathers, and our Mr.* Mede, *Dr.* Twiss, *&c.)*

3. *The 27th Offered Bread and Cheese at the oblation.*

4. *The 28th put New Wine in New Vessels in the Church.*

5. *The 29th Put their fingers on their mouths for Silence.*

6. *The 30th thought that all Prophets ended not with Christ.*

7. *The 33d went without shooes.*

8. *The* Novatians *are the 34th.*

9. *The 41th thought the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by* Paul, *but by* Barnabas *or* Clemens? *and the Epistle to* Laodicea *by* Luke.

10. *The 42th are the Orthodox* Miletians *that Communicated with the Orthodox and some* Arians *too.*

11. *The*

11. *The 46th doubted of the diversity of Heavens.*

12. *The 47th being ignorant that there is another Common Earth invisible, which is the* Matrix *of all things, do think that there is no Earth but this one.*

13. *The 48th thought that water was the common matter, and was alwaies, and not made with the Earth.*

14. *The 49th Heresie denyed that the soul was made before the body, and the body after joyned to it: and believed that Gods making them Male and Female first was to be understood of the bodily Sexes: Whereas (saith he) it was the Soul that was made Male and Female, And the Soul was made the Sixth day and the body the 7th.*

15. *The 50th Heresie thought that not only Grace, but also the Soul itself, was by God breathed into man.*

6. *The 51st is* Origens*(that thought our Souls were first celestial Intellects, before incorporate (as Mr.* Glanvile *and many now.)*

17. *The 52d thought that brutes had some reason (as Mr.* Chambre.*)*

18. *The 54th thought that Earthquakes have a natural Cause.*

19. *The 55th Heresie learned of* Trismegistus *to call the Stars by the names of Living Creatures (as all Astronomers do.)*

20. *The 56th thought that there were not many languages before the confusion of* Babel.

21. *The 57th Heresie thought that the name of a* [Tongue] *proceeded first of the* Jews *or of the* Pagans.

22. *The 58th Heresie doubted of the years and time of Christ.*

23. *The 59th thought (as many Fathers) that Angels begat Giants of women before the flood.*

24. *The 61st was that Christians were after* Jews *and* Pagans.

25. *The 62d Heresie saith that* Pagans *are born naturally, but not Christians, that is, that the Soul and body of men are not daily, Created by Christ, but by Nature.*

26. *The 63d saith that the number of years from the Creation was uncertain and unknown.*

27. *The 64 thought that the names of the daies of the week (*Sunday, Monday, &c.*) were made by God first and not by* Pagans, *and were named from the Planets.*

28. *The 66th was that* Adam *and* Eve *were blind till God opened their Eyes to see their nakedness.*

29. *The 67th Heresie imputeth the Sins of Parents to their Children.*

30. *The* 68 *Hereſie was of ſome troubled about the Book called* Deuteronomy.

31. *The* 69 *thought that thoſe ſanctified in the Womb were yet conceived in ſin.*

32. *The* 70th *Hereſie thought that the World had been firſt divided by the* Greeks, Egyptians, *and* Perſians.

33. *The* 71 *thought there was a former Flood under* Deucalion *and* Pyrrha.

34. *The* 72 *ſaith that men are according to (or under) the* 12 *ſigns of the Zodiack, not knowing that thoſe* 12 *ſigns are divers Climates, and habitable Regions of the Earth.*

35. *The* 74 *Hereſie is that Chriſt deſcended into Hell to offer Repentance there to ſinners.*

36. *The* 75 *doubted of the nature of the Soul, thinking it was made of Fire,* &c. (*as many* Greek *Fathers did.*)

37. *The* 77 *is of Gods hardening* Pharaoh, (*&c. where he deſcribeth the* Dominicans.)

38. *The* 79 *is that the Pſalms were not* (*all*) *made by* David: *and it denieth the equality of the Pſalms, as if they were not all written and placed in the order that the things were done.*

39. *The* 80 *Hereſie thought that Gods words to* Cain [Thou ſhalt rule over him] *were properly to be underſtood, whereas the meaning was* [Thou ſhalt rule over thy own evil Thoughts that are in thy own free Will.]

40. *The* 81 *Hereſie did not well underſtand the reaſon of Gods Words to* Cain, *giving him Life.*

41. *The* 82 *Hereſie thought that the Stars had their fixed place in Heaven, and their courſe, not underſtanding that the Stars are every night brought out of ſome ſecret place, and ſet up for uſe, and at morning return to their ſecret place again, Angels being Preſidents and Diſpoſers of them,) (that is, as ſervants bring Candles into the room at night and take them out again.)*

42. *The* 83 *doubted* (*as ſome Epiſcopal Commentators*) *of the Book of* Canticles, *leſt it had a carnal Senſe.*

43. *The* 85 *Hereſie thought, that the* Soul *of man was naturally Gods Image before Grace.*

44. *The* 87 *Hereſie thought, that really four living Creatures mentioned in the Prophets praiſed God.*

45. *The* 88 *Hereſie thought that the Levitical Feaſts were litterally to be underſtood, not knowing that it was the* 8 *Feaſts of the Church that were meant.*

46. *The*

46. *The* 90 *Hereſie preferred* Aquila's *Tranſlation before the Septuagint.*

47. *The* 91 *preferred a Tranſlation of thirty men before the Septuagint.*

48. *The* 92 *preferred another Tranſlation of ſix men before it.*

49. *Another Hereſie preferred the Tranſlation of* Theodotion *and* Symmachus *before it.*

50. *The* 94 *Hereſie preferred the Scriptures found in a Veſſel after the Captivity before it.*

51. *The* 96th *ought that* Melchizedeck *had no Father or Mother, not knowing that it's ſpoken of him as learning that which his Father and Mother never taught him.*

52. *The* 97 *hold that the Prophet* Zachariah *of Faſts, is to be properly underſtood; when as it is but for the four Faſts of the Church,* viz. *for* Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Epiphany, *and* Pentecoſt.

53. *The* 98 *Hereſie holdeth, that* Solomon's *great number of Wives and Concubines, is literally to be underſtood; whereas it is meant but of diverſity of Gifts in the Church.*

54. *The* 100 *Hereſie thought that the Meaſuring Cord in* Zachary, *was to be underſtood of meaſuring* Jeruſalem *literally whereas it meant the choice of Believers.*

55. *The* 101 *Hereſie not underſtanding the Myſtical Senſe of the* Cherubim *and* Seraphim, *in* Iſaiah, *are troubled about it, and in doubt (And here he Myſtically tells you the Myſtical Senſe.)*

56 *The laſt Hereſie thought that one of the* Cherubims *came to* Iſaiah, *and with a Coal touched his Lips, and that it was an Angel or Animal with Fire; whereas it is the Two Teſtaments, and the Fire of God's Grace.*

To theſe you may add if you pleaſe the Hereſie of holding Antipodes, determined by Pope Zachary, *by the Mediation of the holy Biſhop* Boniface, *I think an* Engliſh *man. And of what peril it is for Chriſtians to eat Jayes, and Rooks, and Badgers, and Hares, and Wood horſes: And Lard muſt not be eaten before it is dryed in the Smoak, or boiled on the Fire: Or if it be eaten unboiled, it muſt not be till after* Eaſter: *And there muſt be three great Lamps ſet in a ſecret place of the Church, after the ſimilitude of the Tabernacle, which muſt be kept burning; and at Baptiſm others lighted by them.*

Reader, remember 1. That *Philaſtrius* as well as *Epiphanius*, was a Biſhop; 2. Yea and a Saint; whereas very few Biſhops of

of all the Councils had the honour to be Sainted.

Therefore if you say that all these were not Anathematized by Councils; I answer, 1. All these are Registred as Hereticks. 2. And they held (as Mr. *Dodwell* and his Company here do) that he that communicateth with Hereticks, is to be judged a Heretick. 3. And that Hereticks are no parts of the Church.

And forget not above all the *Henrician* Heresie, which determineth not only our King, but many Papist Princes to be Hereticks, for claiming Investitures.

And now Reader, I unfeignedly hate uncharitableness, and therefore deny no good that was in such Bishops: But I must no more be indifferent between Good and Evil, than between Heaven and Hell; nor may I judge Christ a Railer, for saying to his prime Apostle, [*Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offence unto me*,&c.] If the name of [*Hereticators*] that is,too rash pronouncing men Hereticks be railing,I will give thee no Character, censure or name of the aforesaid practice,for I can devise no name which may not be called *Railing*. But judge of it and call it what you see cause.

And again, if you say, These are not the Decrees of Councils, I answer, These are but Flea-bitings to the wounds that the Church hath received from Councils, by Anathematizing.

The next Instance of Railing in these words, which he half repeateth [*Either credible* Socrates *and others were gross Lyars, or this Patriarch and St. was a downright Knave.*] *Ans.* He himself is so far from denying this, that he makes *Socrates* and *Sozomen* not only Lyars, but Lovers of a Lie; for what they say of St. *Theophilus:* And who is it then that is the Railer? Read the Story.

The next Instance is, *p.*95. that I call Bishops the [*Firebrands of the World.*] *Ans.* The words are these [*I take them to be the Firebrands of the World, and unworthy the regard of sober men, who pretend to know mens Judgments better than themselves, and allow not mens own deliberate professions to be the notice of their Faith.*] If they will say, that you are Hereticks in heart, though your Tongue and Life profess sound Doctrine, what means hath any man to clear himself against such, and keep from their Inquisition Racks or Flames? Is this Railing?

The next Instance is the Word [*Self-conceited Bishops*] P. 98. Having mentioned the many Logical Niceties necessary to decide

cide the Question between the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, and the Orthodox, I said [*Is it not pity that such Questions should be raised about the Person of Christ, by self-conceited Bishops, and made necessary to Salvation, and the World set on fire and divided by them?*] Reader, remember the Division made by it continueth to this day, to the Separation and Condemnation of a great part of the Christian World! And is the name [*self-conceited*] in describing the cause of this a railing? How much worse railers are they that will call a Drunkard a Drunkard, or a Fornicator a Fornicator? Read the sadder words of *Ludolphus*.

The next *railing* is [*merciless, furious Bishops*, pag. 196.] *Ans.* There is no such word: When I find where it is I shall see the occasion of it. *Italy*, *Piedmont*, *Ireland*, &c. have tried that there have been such.

The last is pag. 183. [*The Confounders of Churches.*] *Ans.* I thought I had merited of them by my impartiality and lenity: As after I commend the Wisdom & peaceableness of Pope *Honorius*, (though a General Council even for that made him an Heretick,) so I here justly commend the Wisdom and Peaceableness of Pope *Vigilius*, who advised the Council to *leave dead men to God* (*Theod. Mops. Theodorite* and *Ibis*] *and not damn them when God hath judged them already, and yet not to admit any of their wrong opinions*] I say [*This was the right way: If they had all dealt as wisely and Christianlike, Councils had not been the Confounders of the Churches:*] Is this railing? At last they forced Pope *Vigilius* to subscribe to them, and it so confounded the Churches, that a great part of *Italy* itself forsook the Church of *Rome* for it, and set up another head against the Pope an 100 Years. Was not this confusion? And must it not be known?

Reader, as far as I understand them, the Paraphrase of these mens words, is [If we kindle a fire in the Church, name it not, much less call any to quench it: or else we'll say it's you that kindle it: say not you are excommunicate or silenced when you are, though it be by Thousands: else we will prove that you are railers: If we lay you in Gaols and take all you have, do not say, *you hurt us*, much less you wrong us: take not on you to know or feel when you are hurt: else we will have an Action of railing against you.

§ 8 That which followeth I answered before: But after he finds a notable piece of my ignorance. The Pope inviting the King

King of *Denmark* to conquer a Province of Hereticks, I know not who they were unless they were the *Waldenses*: *Well guest*, saith Mr. *M. Waldo* was in 1160, 80 Years after. *Ans.* This will serve for men willing to be deceived. It was the *Persons* and *Religion*, and not the name that I spoke of. Doth not he know that *Rainerius* himself saith, that those Persons (called *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, and other such names) professed that their way of Religion was Apostolical, and they derived it down from *Silvesters*, that is *Constantines* time? If I did not guess well I wrong no Bishops by it: and I confessed my Ignorance that I knew not whom the Pope meant: And why did not this callent Historian tell us who they were?

§ 9. Next he hath met with my Ignorance for saying *Vienna near France*] which is in the Borders of *France*. *Ans.* 1. Is that any slander of Bishops or Councils? 2 Truly I had many a time read in Councils, that *Vienna* was in *France*, and had not forgot it, if *Ferrarius* and *Chenu* had not also told it me; And whether it was the fault of the *Printer*, or of my *Hand*, or my *Memory*, that put *near* for *in*, I leave it freely to his Judgment, for I remember it not.

And if the manner of *Binnius* naming it made me call *Ordo Prophetarum* in *Gelasius* a Book, it's no wrong to Episcopacy.

CHAP. XVII.

His Censure of my Design, and Church-Principles, considered.

§ 1. AS to this his first Chapter I have before shewed how falsly he reporteth my design. He saith he *never saw any thing which more reflecteth on Religion: Lucian* and *Julian have left nothing half so scandalous in all their Libels against Christians, as this Church-History has raked up*: *Here is nothing to be seen in his Book but the Avarice, Ignorance, Mistakes and furious Contentions of the Governours of the* Church.

Ans. How false that is the Reader may see in all the beginning, the two Chapters in the end, and much in the midst, which are written contrarily to obviate such false thoughts. 2. Is the ascendent sort of Prelates that were growing up to maturity till

Gregory

Gregory the Seventh's daies, the whole Church of God? Are there no other Christians? Is all that is written against the Pope and such Ascendents, written against Christianity? Did Christ speak against Christianity, when he reproved them for striving who should be greatest? or *Peter*, when he counselled them, as 1 *Pet.* 5. And *Paul* when he said, *I have no man like minded; for they all seek their own things, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's?* Or when he said, *Demas hath forsaken me*; &c? Or *John*, when he said, *Diotrephes loved to have the preheminence?* Or all those Councils of Bishops which condemned each other, far deeplier than I judge any of them?

What have I said of Fact or Canons, which *Binnius* and their other Flatterers say not? Was it not there extant to the sight of all?

And that I Recorded not all their Virtues, 1. The History of Councils saith little of them. 2. Must no man shew the hurt of Drunkenness, Gluttony, *&c.* and so of Ambition and Church-corruption, unless he will write so Voluminous a History, as to contain also all the good done by all the persons whom he blameth? I have oft said, that I wondered that instead of so greedy gathering up all the scraps of Councils, the Papists did not burn them all, as they have done many better Books which made against them.

§ 2. I was about to answer all his first Chapter, but I find it so useless a work, that I shall ease my self and the Reader of that labour. 1. He takes on him to answer a Piece of a Disputation written about 23 years ago, whereas I have lately written a Treatise of Episcopacy, with fuller proof of the same things, which he nameth, and takes on him to answer some part of it, and answers not: Till he, or some other, shew me the mistakes of that, let them talk on for me in their little Velitations.

2. Most that is considerable which he saith, is answered already in that Book: As his fiction that *Unum Altare* in *Ignatius*, signifieth not an ordinary Communion Table, *&c.* And much more out of *Ignatius*, and many more is added, which he saith nothing to.

3. I have before shewed that he goeth on false Suppositions, that I am only for a Bishop of a single Congregation, or against all, and many such; when yet he himself confesseth the con-

trary, yea derideth me for making Twelve sorts of Bishops, and being for such as no Party is like to be pleased with.

4 The contradictions and mistakes are so many as would tire the Reader to peruse an answer to them.

And when he hath all done with the numbring of Churches, (over-passing the full proof of the Primitive Form of them which I gave as before) he confesseth that even his great esteemed Jesuite *Valesius*, [*believes that the City Church was but One even in* Alexandria, *and in* Dionysius's *time*, p. 64.

And while *p.* 65. he makes *Petavius* and *Valesius* so much to differ, as to gather their contrary Opinions from the same words, and consequently one of them at least understood them not, I that profess my self not comparable to either of them, specially *Petavius*, in such things, am taken for a falsifier, if I misunderstand a word that concerneth not the matter of the History.

This therefore being not about Church-History so much as against my Opinion of the Antient Government, when he hath answered the foresaid Treatise of Episcopacy, if I live not, some one may reply, if he deal no better than in this.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of his Second Chapter.

§ 1. PAg. 78. He would have men believe that it is Discipline against real Heresie, that I find so much fault with, and ascribe all mischief to---

Answ. Utterly contrary to my most open Profession: It is only making those things to seem Heresie that are none (either Truth, or meer difference of words, or small mistakes,) or curing Heresies by rash Anathema's, without necessary precedent means of Conviction, or by Banishment or Blood.

§ 2. Is this it that you defend the Church for, and we oppose it for? When we would have none in our Churches whom we know not, and that have not personally, if at Age, profest understandingly their Faith. And what is the Discipline that you exercise on Hereticks? It's enough that you know them

nor,

not, and so never trouble them. Your Talk and Pamphlets truly complain what swarms of Hobbists, Sadduces, Infidels, Atheists, are among us: Do they not all live in the Parishes and Dioceses? Doth the Bishop know them? Are any of them Excommunicated? I could never learn yet how to know who are Members of your Churches: Is it all that dwell in the Parishes? Then all these aforesaid, with Jews and Papists, are in it: And then why are ten parts of some Parishes suffered without *Discipline* to shun the Parish Church-Communion? Is it all that *hear* you? Then 1. Ten parts in some Parishes, and two or three, or half in others are not of your Church, and hear you not, and many Nonconformists hear you. 2. And any Infidel may hear. Bare hearing was never made a sufficient note of a Church-Member. 3. And how can you tell who all be that hear you in an uncertain crowd? 4. And why doth not your Discipline meddle with constant Non-Communicants?

3. Is it only all that Communicate with you? 1. These are yet fewer, and so the far greatest part of many or most Parishes here are let alone to be no Church members at all, when they have been long Baptized, and no censure by discipline past on them. 2. How know you your stated Communicants, when any stranger may come unquestioned? The truth is, it is Parish discipline which you will not endure. No wonder if you named it *Issachars* burden. *Bucer in script. Anglic.* and all the Nonconformists after him long strove for it in vain. It is the hated thing. Were it possible to prevail with you for this, we should have little disagreement about Church Government. But the Popes that have been the greatest enemies of it, have yet gloried in a Discipline to set up their power over Princes and Peoples, and to have their own wills, and tread down all that are against them.

§ 2. To extenuate *Anathematizing* (so very Common with Councils) he tells us P. 81. that ["*Let him be Anathema imports no more than that we declare our abhorrence of such doctrines, and will have nothing Common with those that profess them.*]

Ans. 1. We may declare our abhorrence of every known sin and Errour, in such as must not be anathematized. 2. By (nothing) I suppose you mean not [*not* the *same King, Countrey, Earth, Air, &c.*] but [*not the same Church, the same Christian Communion, familiarity, love, &c*] Whether you mean [not the

same God, Christ, &c.] I know not But do you think the Anathematizing Bishops so unreasonable, as to renounce all Christian Communion with men and not tell why ? Or to give no better Reason than [*We abhor their doctrine* :] How few Churches or men have nothing worthy to be abhorred, that is, No Errour or sin ? And must we renounce Communion with all the Christian world ? No, they were not so bad : You use them hardlier than I. They took them to be no true Christians, as wanting somewhat of that faith which is necessary to Salvation, and Essential to a Christian, and so to have made themselves no Church-Members, and therefore are to be sentenced & avoided accordingly.

And how ordinarily do they expound [*Let him be Anathema*] that is [*Cut off from Christ ?*] Not only *Hildebrand* so expounds it often, but many before him : Whereupon they commonly agree that an Anathematized Heretick is none of the Church, nor can be saved without repentance.

And indeed to renounce all Communion with Christs true members not Cut off from the Church, is a greater sin than I charge on them. Though familiarity and specially Communion may be suspended, while delay of repentance makes the Case of a sinner doubtful.

§ 3. Pag. 82 He begins himself with blaming Bishop *Victor*, " *for Endangering the Peace of the whole Church upon so light occa-* " *sion.* Valesius *is of opinion, that it was but by letters of accusation.*

Answ. I think it could be but by Letters of Accusation, Renunciation, and persuading others to renounce them. For Bishops were not then come up to their Commanding Power over one another. But doth not Mr. *M*'s. here rail upon a Bishop, in saying the same of him that I did, if my words were Railing ? Thus you shall have him all along confessing much of that faultiness by them, which he takes the mention of by me to be so bad.

§ 4. He nameth many Councils, which he saith I pass lightly over ; then sure I say no harm of them. He thinks it is because I could not, as if he knew it were my will. And so I am never blameless.

§ 5. But he hath a notable Controversie against *Baronius*, who thought *Novatus* had been a Bishop (such Errours as *Baronius* was guilty of by Ignorance, are excusable in one so far below him in History as I am.) But I congratulate Mr. *M*'s. discovery,

discovery, that he was but a Presbyter: But all confess that he Ordained *Felicissimus* Deacon: And here is a Presbyter Ordaining: But it was irregularly! Let it be so: He saith, that he ought not to have Ordained, but with *Cyprian*, or by his permission. I grant it. But 1. If *Cyprian*'s permission would serve, then it was not a work alien to a Presbyter: If a permitted Presbyter may Ordain, a Bishop's Ordination is not necessary *ad esse Officii*; and so that which is a disorder is no Nullity. 2. And it seems by *Novatus*'s Act, that the Necessity of Episcopal Ordination was not universally received. And I have not yet met with any that make it more necessary *ad esse Presbyteratus quàm Diaconatus*.

§ 6. Next he mentions another *Carthage* Council, where one *Victor* dead, is condemned for making a Priest Guardian of his Child, and so entangling him in worldly Affairs. And he tells you, that all that I can say against this, is the rigour of the Sentence; but he dissembleth, and takes no notice that I mention it in praise of the Bishops of those Times, who were so much against Clergy-mens medling with Secular Affairs: What odious Puritanism would this have been with us? What I cite in praise, our Historian cannot understand.

§ 7. And that you may need no Confuter of much of his Accusation of me but himself, who so oft saith, I say nothing of Bishops and Councils, but of their faults, *&c.* he here saith as followeth.

["*After this he gives a short Account of* Councils called on *the* "*Subject of Rebaptization of Hereticks*: *And here, to do him right,* "*he is just enough in his Remarks: The generality of the World* "*was for Rebaptizing Hereticks*: *And considering what manner* "*of men the first Hereticks were, it is probable they had Tra-* "*dition as well as Reason on their side. However, Mr.* Baxter "*endeavours fairly to excuse these Differences, and speaks of the* "*Bishops with honour and respect, allowing them to be men of emi-* "*nent Piety and Worth. Had he used the same* Candour *towards* "*others*, &c.

Answ. 1. If this be true, a great deal contradictory is untrue.

2. He greatly misreporteth the Controversie: It was not whether Hereticks should be Rebaptized, but those that were *Baptized* by *Hereticks*, and taken into their Churches. If a Heretick had been Baptized when found by a sound Minister, and

after

after turned to Heresie, he was to be restored by Repentance without Rebaptizing; and I think they all agreed in this. But I imagine this was but a lapse of his memory in Writing.

3. But the Question is, Whether the Bishops, whose faults I mention, were of equal Worth and Innocency with those whom I honour and praise? Let the proof shew.

I would he would freely tell us, Q. 1. Whether he think at this day the generality of Bishops (in *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, the *Greek* Church, *Moscovy*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, &c.) are so commendable, as not to be notably blamed? Q. 2. If not, When was it that he thinks they ceased to be generally so commendable? Was it in *Hildebrand*'s Time, or any time before? Q. 3. Can you believe that the generality turn from good to bad just in one Age? Or rather that they degenerated by degrees? If they were mostly bad in a thousand, or nine hundred, or eight hundred, can you think that they were not drawing towards it and near as bad a little before; Q. 4. What was it think you in which the Corruption of the Clergy did consist? Was it not most in a proud, domineering worldly Spirit? Is it not that that you blame the Popes for? Was not their Ascent their Corruption? Sure you all agree of that. Q. 5. And did the Papacy Spring up in a year? Did not *Leo* begin to arrogate, and others after him (to say nothing now of those before him) rise higher and higher by degrees as Children grow up to manhood, till in *Greg.* 7. it came to Maturity? I know no Protestant that denyeth this? Q. 6. And can you or any sober man think that in so many hundred years it was only the Bishop of *Rome* that was sick of this disease, and that all or most of the other Bishops were Free? Were they not commonly for ascending with them: Did not they in the East strive to be greatest? And the Bishops of the West strive to rise with, and by the Pope? Were they not, and are they not as his Army? And did he prevail against the Primitive Purity and Simplicity without them? Did not his Councils, and Prelates, as his Armies, do his greatest works? Yea, have they not oft out-done him, and over-topt him in Mischief (as in the deposing of *Ludov. Pius* against his will? say good Historians.)

Tell us then at what Age just we may begin to dispraise the Bishops. And from that time forward, will you not be as great a Railer as I, and scandalize Christianity more than *Lucian* or *Julian*?

§ 8. But

§ 8. But I somewhat marvel that he is again at it (reciting *Dionysius*'s words which he thinks I mistook for *Eusebius*'s) *That he does not condemn the rebaptizing of Hereticks which was a Tradition of so great antiquity*: I judge more Candidly of him than he doth of me: Though he so oft repeat it, I will not believe that he knew not, that it was not the baptizing of Hereticks as such, that was the question: but only of those that were baptized by Hereticks. Yet I confess *Eusebius* phrasing it, might tempt one to think so that had not read *Cyprian* and others upon the questions. But when *Eusebius* and *Dionysius* mention [*rebaptizing Hereticks*] they mean only those that were by *Hereticks baptism entered into* the *Societies* and *Profession* of *Hereticks*. If the worst Heretick, yea or Apostate, had been baptized, by the orthodox, *Cyprian* and all the rest were agreed against Rebaptizing such when they repented. This *Dionysius* telling *Xystus Rom.* of an ancient Minister that was greatly troubled in Conscience that he had been *falsly Baptized* by an Heretick (being himself no Heretick) and doubted whether he should not be Rebaptized, yet saith, He told him he durst not Rebaptize him that had so long been in the Church and Communicated, but bid him go on Comfortably in Communion (Much like a forementioned case put to me, by some that never were Baptized, but in our undisciplined Parish Churches had been without knowledge or question admitted long to Communion, whether yet they should be Baptized at all: And *Dionysius*'s Reasons against it I cannot answer.

§ 9. And here I may take notice how our new Church-men, (such as *Thorndike*, Mr. *Dodwell* and all their partners) who nullifie sacraments delivered by one that hath not Canonical Ordination by a Bishop of uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles, do make themselves Hereticks in the sense of the Roman Church which they allow: For 1. Baptism is the first and most necessary Sacrament in their own opinion. Yea *Austin* and too many of old, but specially too many now, take it to be necessary to Salvation; 2. If therefore Baptism be a nullity all that are Baptized in *England*, *Scotland* and all the Protestant Churches by such as had no such Ordainers, must be Baptized again or be damned. 3. If they say, They may be saved without it, then 1. they confess Mr. *Dodwells* Doctrine to be false, that saith none have a Covenant right to Salvation, who have it not by a Sacra-

ment

ment from such hands. 2. And they renounce the Doctrine of the Necessity of Baptism to Salvation. But if they are for Rebaptizing all such Protestant Countries, as necessary to Salvation, they are uncharitable that do not speak it out.

§ 10. He passeth by Bishop *Stephens* Excommunicating all the Oriental Bishops of *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, and Reprobating their Synods, for Rebaptization: Doth he think that even then some Bishops did not rise too fast?

§ 11. The man that is so angry with me for telling of the faults of Bishops and Councils, is *pag.* 87. angry with me for not saying worse against *Secundus* his Council of Bishops at *Cirta*; and saith, I have not done right to the Catholick Church: I perceive the question is not, whether I may *Rail* at Bishops, but what Bishops they be that I must Rail at.

As for the Council at *Sinuessa*, I believed the being of it no more than he doth: And when I am but naming the common Catalogue, he might pardon my modesty for saying that the being of it is a Controversie.

§ 12. Of the Council of *Illiberis* he saith but contractedly the same that I do, that *It hath many good Canons, and some that need a favourable Interpretation, and is very severe in some cases.* This measure of just praise and dispraise, is practised by him that is condemning it in me.

§ 13. As to his Controversie, whether Bishops, or such as strove to be Bishops, were the very first movers of the *Donatists* Controversie, who should be Bishop, it's not worth the turning over one Book to search, as to my business.

§ 14. Next he that accuseth me of Railing at Bishops, accuseth me for saying (from some good Authors) that a Bishop of *Carthage*, *Donatus*, was a good man, who he saith was *bad.* It's little to me whether he were good or bad.

§ 15. Next he noteth that I Err with *Binnius* and *Baronius* as to the year of a *Carthage* Council. I undertook not to justifie all the Chronology or History that I transcribe: Whether *Optatus*, or *Binnius* and *Baronius* hit on the just year, little care I.

§ 16. I praised a *Donatist's* Council of 270 Bishops at *Carthage* for Moderation, agreeing to communicate with penitent Traditors, without Rebaptizing them, and so doing for 40 years. Q. What was these mens Heresie?

He

He saith, *This looks liker a piece of Policy than Moderation*, for it had *no tendency to peace, but to strengthen the Schism.*]

Ans. Who knows how to please men? When they exclaim against Separation if men Communicate with them, they judge it but Policy, that hath no tendency to peace. 2. And who is it now that most raileth at Bishops? I am confuted for praising the moderation of 270 of them, and he is their censurer even when they do well, and their moderation with him is but Policy. Even as they say, of me, that I constantly Communicate with their Parish Churches to undermine them: Near or far off, all's one with this sort of men, if you stick at any thing that they bid you say or do.

But he will not believe that this Council of Orthodox moderate *Donatists* were so *many* as 270. "*Because* 1. *we have only the* "*Authority for it of* Tychonius *a* Donatist. 2. *It's improbable after* "Constantine's *suppression of them that Schism should so suddenly* "*spread.* 3. *Lest it should prove the Churches to be too Small*: *Yet* "*he saith, These Schismaticks set up Churches in every City and* "*Village.*]

Ans. 1. It's said *Tychonius* confesseth this Council, because the later *Donatists* would fain have buryed the memory of it: But that it depends only on the Credit of *Tychonius*, I think depends only on your Credit: 2. *Augustine* that reports it, honoureth this *Tychonius*, and reciteth an Exposition of his of the Angels of the Churches, *Rev.* 2. and 3. which I suppose displeaseth you more than his Donatism. 3. It seems you would have believed some stranger that knew it not, rather than a *Donatist* that speaketh against the will and interest of his party. 4. It rather seems that the *Donatists* were the greater number of Christians there before *Constantine*'s time, and like the Papists therefore counted themselves the Catholicks and the others the Schismaticks. *Constantines* Prohibition did not suppress them. 5. Therefore the numerousness of their Bishops and smallness of Churches, rather sheweth what was the state of the Churches before worldly greatness swelled them to that disease, which was the Embrio or infancy of Popery.

§ 17. Whether the *Donatists* be like the Papists or the Separatists (much less to the Nonconformists) if the Reader will but peruse what I have said and what Mr. *M.* hath said, I am content that he judge without more words.

§ 18. He passeth by divers Councils because he could not say that I blame them: And he passeth by *Constantine's* Epistle to *Alexander* and *Arius*, which *raileth* at them more than I do (in his sence.)

As to the Council of *Laodicea*, it is not two or three such words as his that will make an impartial man believe that the Churches were like our *Dioceſſes*, when every Convert before baptism was to say his Catechism to the Bishops or his Presbyters: Or that the Command that Presbyters go still with the Bishop into the Church, and not before him, do not both imply that they were both together in every Church.

But he will have it confined to the Cathedral; And when I say, There were long no Churches but Cathedrals, he saith he *will not* differ with me whether they shall be called *Churches* or *Chappels*. But the difference is *de re*: They say themselves that A Bishop and a Church were then Relatives: And when they have put down many hundred Churches under the *Dioceſan*, forsooth they will gratifie us by giving us leave to call them Churches. As if they put down an hundred to one of the Cities and Corporations, and then give us leave, to call them Corporations when they are none. Yet blush they not to make the world believe that they are that Episcopal party (who put down a thousand Churches and Bishops in some one *Dioceſs*) and I am against Bishops.

Yea when they have not the front to deny but that every City then had a Bishop (that had Christians,) and that our Corporations are such as they called Cities, Yet when we plead but at least, if they will have no *Chorepiſcopi*, they will restore a Church and Bishop with his Presbyters to every such City with its adjacent Villages, hatred, scorn and derision goeth for a Confutation of us; Though we do it but to make true discipline a possible thing; Which they call *Iſſachar's* burden, and abhor it, and then say, It is possible and practised.

§ 19. As to the *Roman* Council which he believeth not, he might perceive that I believed at least their antiquity as little as he: But the Canons are so like those of following Councils that such it's like were sometime made.

And whereas I noted that their condemning them that wrong timed Easter, would fall on the Subscribers to our *Engliſh* Liturgy, where 2000 are Silenced for not Subscribing, the man had

had no better answers to give, than these 1. That *I should have said the Almanack-Makers.* As if he would have had men believe that Falshood, that it was the Almanack Makers and not our Liturgy changers that were deceived.

2. [*Alas! one year they mistook.*] As if he would Perswade men that their rule faileth but one year, which faileth oft.

3. *The Silenced Ministers have little Reason to thank him or any body else, that giveth this Reason of their Separation. It's strange this should trouble their Consciences that Care no more for* Easter *than for* Christmas, *but only that it Falls upon a Sunday.*

Here see his Historical Credibility. 1. Would he perswade men that we give this *Reason alone*? Or why may it not be one with twenty more?

2. He intimateth that I give them as reasons of *Separation*: As if to be *Silenced*, were to *separate*, and to be *passive* were to be *active.*

3. He intimateth that as Nonsubscribers I and such other are Separatists, which is false; While we live in their Communion.

4. He taketh on him to know our judgment as against *Easter* (but for *Sunday*) when we never told him any such thing.

5. He intimateth that it's no credit to us that we make Conscience of deliberate professing *Assent* to a known untruth in open matter of fact: And if the Contrary be their Credit, I wish they may never be Witnesses against us.

6. He intimateth that a man that is not for keeping *Easter*, is the less excusable, if he will not Profess a known Falshood about the time of *Easter.* If Conscience stood a man in no stead for greater Ends than worldly wealth and ease and honour, who would not be a Latitudinarian Conformist?

§ 20. Next when I deny belief to these Councils, he blames me for making advantage of the History of them. As if he saw not that I do it, but *ad hominem* to the Papists who record them as if they were really true. For it is principally the Papists (from Infancy to *Hildebrands* Maturity) against whom I write.

§ 21. He next comes to the *Novatians as my Favourite sect*, And [*Favourite*] may signifie to the Reader a truth or a *Falshood.* 1. Doth not every Christian Favour them that have lesser Errours more than them that have greater?

2. Do I not as oft as he profess my great dislike of every sect, as a sect?

3. Do I not disclaim this Novatian sect and their opinion, and own the Contrary?

4. It seems he taketh me to be too Favourable to some Bishops and their followers: The question is but who they be that must be favoured? I may come to be taken for a Novatian by such men as well as *Socrates* and *Sozomen*.

§ 22. Here (without railing) he bedawbs *Novatus* and *Novatian* to the purpose with *horrid Crimes*, a *Pharisaical Saint*, *Perjured*, and what not? But what! Were they not Episcopal? Yes, he doubts it not: It was for to be a Bishop that *Novatian* wrought his Villanies; (what if I had thus bedawbed the Episcopal?) But yet the very word [*Puritan*] is of use to him. *This*, saith he of *Novatus*, *was the tender Conscience of the author of the Ancient sect of the Puritanes?* Can you tell who the man aimeth at? Is it Nonconformists? *Novatus* & *Novatian* were Prelatists, and never scrupled more Ceremonies than our Prelates impose. Who then can it be but men that in general, though Episcopal, do profess *Tenderness* of *Conscience*? And there I leave them, without the application.

§ 23. But this Defender of Surgent Prelacy, sticks not to disgrace those whom he seemeth to defend. It was three of the Catholick Bishops that Consecrated *Novatian*, and (without railing) he calls them *Three plain ignorant Bishops. These good men suspecting no trick, and overcome with his good entertainment, with too much Wine and perswasions, were forced at last to lay their hands on him and Consecrate him Bishop.*] 1. *Ignorant Bishops*; 2. *Overcome with too much Wine*, and entertainment: 3. And with perswasion: 4. To do such an Act as to Consecrate so bad a Bishop, & that in such a city as *Rome*, and that without the Churches choice or Consent. How much worse have I said of Bishops? But, yet [*they were good men.*] But if they had been Nonconformists, what names had been bad enough for them? No doubt if they had been sequestred and cast out (for their too much wine and such ordination) how odiously might the agents have been described as enemies to the Church and Persecutors of *good men*.

§ 24. Yet further this New Bishop *engageth men to him by Oaths, enough to strike a horror in the minds of the* Reader, saith he.

See what a man may do for a Bishoprick? It reminds me of many good Canons that forbid Bishops swearing their Clergy to them: And of our *Et Catera* Oath in 1640 never to Consent to any

any alteration, (to say nothing of our times) and the old Oath of Canonical obedience. It strikes *horror* into mens minds now that we scruple these.

§ 25. He maketh the Novatian doctrine *blasphemous* (without railing) and me too Favourable in representing it. As to that I suppose he is not ignorant how great a Controversie it is what they held, even among the greatest Antiquaries, and Enemies of Schism and Heresie. And I use in accusations to meet with most truth in the most Favourable interpretations.

And here I will tell our Historian, that while I take leave to dissent from his accusation, it shall be but by the authority of those whom I judge as well acquainted with Church Writers and Customes as any that ever Mr. *M.* or any of his Masters read, not excepting more knowing men than *Valesius*.

The first is D. *Petavius* in *Epiphan. de Cath.* Where first he tells us, that no less nor later men than *most of the ancient Fathers*, and *Specially* the *Greeks*, mistook *Novatus* and *Novatian* for one, or thought the sect had a single Author; naming *Euseb. Theodoret*, *Epiphan. Nazian. Ambrose*, *Austin*, *Philastrius*, yea and *Socrates*. Yet half as great a mistake in me would have been scorned.

2. Against *Epiph.* and *Theodoret* he saith [*Non ea Novatiani Opinio fuit, eos qui gravioris peccati noxam contraherent, ab omni spe consequendæ salutis excludi: Nam & illos ad capessendam pœnitentiam hortari solebant: Et ut Divinam clementiam lachrymis ac sordibus elicerent identidem admonebant: Sed hoc unum negabant; ad Ecclesiæ fidelium Communionem recipi amplius oportere: Neque penes Ecclesiam reconciliandi jus ullum ac potestatem esse: Quippe unicam illam peccatorum indulgentiam in illius arbitrio versari, quæ per Baptismum obtinetur*; which he proveth out of *Socrates*, *Ambrose*. And he saith, that they were not counted Hereticks for wronging the lapsed, by denying them Communion, but for wronging the Church-Power, by denying the Power of the Keyes for their Restitution. (Like enough.)

The other shall be that excellent Bishop *Albaspineus Observ. lib.* 2. *Observ.* 20, 21. *p. (mihi)* 130, 131. [*Advertant Novatianorum errorem non in eo positum, quod dicerent neque lapsum, neque excommunicatum in morte à peccatis liberandum; sed hæreticos ideo habitos, quod opinarentur Deum ipsum Ecclesiæ neque remittendorum neque retinendorum peccatorum capitalium potestatem copiamque*

copiamque feciſſe: Atque hæc in eo fuit viguitque eorum hæreſis, qui quanquam illud conſequeretur ex eorum falſa Opinione, ut abſolutionem non largirentur, tamen hoc eorum factum non hæreſis nomine afficiendum erat, neque ad hæreſin accedebat ob aliam cauſam quam quod à fonte illo & quaſi capite hareſin olente dimanâ at, eo maxime quod Novatiani crederent id Eccleſiæ a Deo non fuiſſe præſtitum & conceſſum; quæ cauſa ſola fuit cur praxis illa ceu diſciplinæ Novatianorum ratio hæreſis nomen notionemque non effugeret.]

The Clergy felt their own Intereſt, and the *Novatians* denied their Power to retain, as well as *forgive* capital Crimes, and thought their Keyes extended not ſo far.

And that the Caſe of the lapſed was it that they began with, *Epiphanius* himſelf and others agree.

And *Obſerv.* 19. he ſhews that *Novatianus* did this againſt his former Judgment, in Envy and Faction againſt the Biſhop, becauſe he miſt of being Biſhop himſelf. A Biſhoprick was it that provoked him to deny this Pardoning Power in Biſhops.

And *Albaſpineus* hath in many antecedent Obſervations ſhewed, how little, if any thing at all, the *Novatians* differed elſe from the Antient Church in the ſtrictneſs of their Communion, and avoiding ſinners: So that he thus begins his fifth Obſervation [*Incredibilia prope ſunt, quæ his capitibus dicturi ſumus: ſed tamen ita vera & certa, & quæ cujuſque animam ſummam in admirationem rapiant, Eccleſiam primis temporibus nulla vel leviſſima labe inquinatam fuiſſe; quin ita illibatam intactamque ut omni ratione, curâ & ſolicitudine proſpexerit, filii ut ſui quam à Baptiſmo hauſerant puritatem eam nulla aſperſam vitii alicujus macula & fœditate conſervarent. Imo ea ſe veritate adhibita ut fugiendum ſibi deteſtandumque peccatum, quovis terrore propoſito putarent. Non ſolum autem multa crimina peccataque numerabantur, quorum Authores artificeſque abſolutionem omnem deſperabant, ſed & ea quoque quibus ignoſcet pœnitentiam concedi oportere cenſuerat, peccata ita ulciſcebatur, ut non niſi ſemel eis qui ea commiſiſſent, unius pœnitentiæ copiam faceret Eccleſia, hoc eſt ſi poſt Baptiſmum lethaliter peccaſſent. Quod ſi cum Eccleſia reconciliatus in idem aut aliud mortale peccatum iterum prolaberetur, ita in perpetuum tribus primis ſæculis ab Eccleſia repulſam ferebat, ut non niſi pœnitentiæ & in morte precum quæ reliqua erant ſubſidia expectanda ſibi duceret, nulla abſolutione data quæ in ſpem veniæ illum erigeret.*] And he adds, that many that cannot deny his proofs,

proofs, yet will not believe that ever such a Discipline was used.

But this was in the three First Ages: After, when Prosperity and Wealth ticed the ungodly into Bishops Seats, and into the Church, the Case was altered, and as he shews, *Observ.* 6. the Case was so altered to the loose extreme, that Criminals were admitted *toties quoties.* And in his Notes on *Tertullian* he sheweth, that this was a difference between the Orthodox and the Hereticks, that the Orthodox did *diu multumque deliberare quos in societatem ejusdem Ecclesiæ, & corporis recipere debeant*; but the Hereticks were ready to take all that came. Yet I suppose not near so loose as those Diocesan and Parochial Churches that know not who comes, but without question take all that will but come to the Rails and kneel: And when by the magnitude of Dioceſs and other means, they have secured themselves against the trouble and possibility of Pastoral Discipline, the Priest wipes off all guilt with a word, and saith, If they were Atheists, Hobbists, Sadduces, Whoremongers, common Blasphemers, Drunkards, it's no fault of mine, I know it not; and no wonder, when he knoweth not who in the Parish are his Flock.

That *Eusebius* himself and others named by *Petavius* mistook the Novatians is no wonder to those who read the volumes of palpable Falshood written against the Nonconformists in this present age, and hear witnesses at the bar swear those Plots and Conspiracies & Treasons against men, from which grave and conscionable Juries quit them.

But me thinks when Mr. *M.* had said that *Socrates is an Historian of good Credit and acquainted with them*] he much forgot his own ends when he recited these words as his [*Some took part with* Novatian, *and others with* Cornelius; *according to their several inclinations and Course of life: The looser and more licentious sort Favouring the most indulgent discipline, the other of more austere lives inclining most to the Novatian severity.*] Good still, I now see that the Novatians indeed were Puritanes, though Episcopal, and I accuse not our accusers of any such Heresie. But I confess that I shall believe a Novatian Historian, who being so strict against sin must be strict against a Lie, rather than those that Scorn such Puritanism, and deride the Person that cannot swallow a bigger Pill.

And when Mr. *M.* labours to shew out of *Socrates* that it was

was not only Idolatry that they censured, he labours in vain: It was the *beginning* of their Schism that I mentioned, and not *Socrates* his Age.

As to the judgment of the Council of *Eliberis* and all the three First Ages, I have told you what *Albaspine* saith before. If you can confute him, do; I am not engaged to defend him; but I believe him.

§ 26. I conclude this and the former Chapter with this Counsel to the Scorners of Puritanes: Never trust to your Titles and Order, how good soever, without a careful holy obedience to the Supreme Law-giver, either for Concord on Earth, or Salvation in Heaven. True Parish-Reformation is the way to satisfie godly persons better than either Violence or Separation. But if you still obstinately resist Parish-Discipline and Reformation, you must have Toleration of such as will not consent to your Corruption, or else persecute the best to your own ruine. *Theophilus Parochialis* hath said more for Parish Order against the Regulars, and Priviledged, than you have done against the Separatists. And yet the Confraternity of the *Oratorians* set up in every Parish, was the best way he could devise to recover the state of lapsed Parishes: As the priviledging of Fryars was the Pope's last Remedy instead of Reforming his corrupted Church.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Council of Nice *and some following.*

§ 1. THis Historian having put himself into a military posture seemeth to conceit that every word proceeds from an Enemy. And first he feigneth me to make *Constantine* judge that [*the Bishops and Councils were of little use*] when I had no such *word or thought*, but the contrary.

§ 2. Next he himself confesseth that which I blame those Bishops for; Even those Libels which they Contentiously offered against one another; to have raised Quarrels instead of Peace, and which *Constantine* cast altogether into the fire without reading them. And when he confesseth what I say, is he not a Railer at the Bishops as much as I in that?

As

As to his excuse that [*It is no wonder considering their great dissentions in Religion, &c.*] I easily grant it: But in this excuse he saith yet more against them.

§ 3. Because I said that *Athanasius* differing from *Constantine* about the reception of *Arius* his repentance [*Caused much Calamity*] he feigneth me heinously to accuse *Athanasius* which I intended not: Even a just action may [*Cause Calamity*] as Christ saith his Gospel would bring division. All his labour in justifying *Athanasius* fighteth but with a spectre of his own imagination. And yet I am inclined to think that if an Hypocrite *Arius* had been connived at to please such an Emperor, the death of *Arius* would have left the Church quieter than it did; though he here thinks greater rigour had been safer: And I think multitudes of Sadduces, Infidels and debaucht Persons in one of our Dioceses, yea or Parishes, is worse than one *Arius* while Hypocrisie restrained him from Venting his opinion.

§ 4. And here he that dreamed I accused *Athanasius*, really accuseth *Constantine* as *imposed on by a Counterfeit Repentance and restoring the incendiary to opportunities of doing mischief, and* being against the means that *might have ended that fatal mischief.* But I confess *Constantine* was no Bishop, and therefore this is not an *accusation of Bishops* or a railing at them.

§ 5. Next when I had fully opened the Case of the *Meletians* out of *Epiphanius* on pretence of abbreviating, he leaves out that which he likes not, and tells us how the Nonconformists have advantaged the Papists: If I thought the man believed himself I would try to undeceive him: In the mean time I desire him to think again which party most befriends the Papists; " They " that are for a reconciliation with them on these terms, that " there may be acknowledged an Universal supreme human " Power over all the Church on Earth, and the Pope to be *Prin-* " *cipium Unitatis* and Patriarch of the West, and he shall abate us " the last 400 years Impositions, and all be accounted Schisma- " ticks that unite not into this Church; and that all the " Preachers in *England* shall be silenced that will not swear, pro- " mise, profess, and practise all that which is here imposed on " them, though they think it heinous sin, and others think it but " matter indifferent, and all the people shall be prosecuted that " hear them; and that this Division shall rather weaken the " Kingdom, and advantage the Papists, than the Consciences

" of men, as wise and faithful as themselves shall be eased of " such Impositions, or they suffered to Preach the Gospel of " Christ: Or those that being condemned to such Silence, Pri- " sons and Ruine, had rather be delivered, though a Papist be " delivered with them, than be destroyed.] Methinks we are used by these Church-Fathers, as if they should determine that a great part of the Protestants who are most against Popery, shall be hanged, unless the Papists will beg their pardon, or cut the Rope; which if these Protestants accept, they shall be said to be the Promoters of the Papists.

§ 6. As for all his Exceptions against *Epiphanius*, they are nothing to me, who did not undertake to justifie his words, but transcribe them; nor think it worth my labour now to examine the Case of so small concernment.

§ 7. When some have blamed me for condemning the *Arians* too much, he saith, that I say somewhat very much to the disadvantage of the Doctrine of the Trinity, but he was so gentle as not to tell what it was, unless it be telling what *Petavius* the Jesuite saith: About that I am wholly of his own mind. But the express words which *Petavius de Trinit.* citeth out of all those Old Fathers, cannot be denied: And verily they are so many, and so gross, that unless his Argument satisfied me, *viz.* [*The Votes of the Council of* Nice *shewed what was the Common sence of the Church, better than the words of all those Fathers*] I should think as *Philostorgius* in point of History, that there were no sufficient confuting of the *Arians* from those Fathers, though sometimes they have better words. Visible words cannot be denied, even where they must be lamented. That's the difference between Mr. *M's.* Opinion of History and mine.

§ 8. "As to the *Audians*, I recite but *Epiphanius*'s words, who in other cases is greatly valued by these Accusers: They will believe what he saith of *Aerius*. And as to what he saith to the contrary out of *Theodoret*, he may see that he saith all by hearsay, and saith, that *They hid* that which he accuseth them of, and were Hypocrites, professing too much strictness, *l.* 4. *c.* 9. which is still the common way of accusing the best, against whom instead of proveable faults, they turn their strictness into a crime. *Epiphanius* is much more particular than *Theodoret* in the story.

§ 9. The rest which he noteth of my words of the Council

of

of *Nice*, have nothing needing a reply. *Petavius* hath fully proved that the *Chorepiscopi* were true Bishops. But now we are odious Presbyterians if we would but have a Bishop in every City, that is, Corporation, Desiring only that Discipline might become possible. And for this we are proclaimed to be against Bishops; that is, saith this sort of men; They that would have but One Bishop over a thousand, or many hundred, or score Churches, are for Episcopacy; and they that would have every Church have a Bishop, as of old, or at least every great Town, and so would have twenty, or forty, or a hundred for one, are against Episcopacy: And that which is strange is, These men are believed.

§ 10. I praised the Council of *Gangra* for condemning some Superstitions, and he saith, I have nothing against it: Whether it be a *Common Mistake* that *Arius* was here received to Communion, I'le not stay to examine.

§ 11. When he hath weighed all he can for the Synod at *Antioch*, he is forced to confess that they were a packt company of Bishops, that complied with *Constantius* and *Eusebius*'s Contrivance. And what do I say worse of them than he? As to the Canon against Priests or Deacons not gathering Assemblies against the Bishops will, I am for it as much as he, if the Bishops and Churches be such as they were then; but not in *France* nor *Italy*.

He saith, *I leave my sting behind me, and end very angrily*; for these only words [*This is their strength*] mentioning the Councils (that was against *Athanasius*) suppressing Dissenters as seditious by force. I see angry men think others angry when they are, and are stung if we do but name their stinging us: As if Prisons and Ruine were not so sharp a sting as these four words. If it be not their strength, why do they so trust to it, as to confess that their Arguments and Keyes would do little to uphold their Prelacy without it. In the daies of the Usurpers I moved for a Petition, that when they granted Liberty of Conscience for so many others, they would grant Liberty for the full exercise of the Episcopal Government to all that desired it. But the Episcopal Party that I spake to, would not endure it, as knowing what bare Liberty would be to their Cause, unless they could have the Sword to suppress those that yield not to their Reasons.

§ 12. Next he saith, I spare my Gall for about a dozen

times, not regarding how it contradicts his former Accusations.

But whereas I recite the horrid Accusations of the Council at *Philippopolis* against *Athanasius*, *Paulus* and *Marcellus*, of open Matters of Fact, as Murder, Persecutions, Burning of Churches, Wars, Flames, Dragging Priests to the Market-place with Christs Body tyed about their necks, stripping Consecrated Virgins naked before a concourse of People [and offering to send messengers on both sides to Try the Fact, and to be themselves condemned if it prove not true] he is offended that I seem *staggered* at this, *Athanasius* having detected before so many Subornations, *&c.*

Answ. I did not say that I was staggered, much less doubted which of them did the wrong: But that a Reader may by such a Temptation be astonished, and confounded whom to believe. But d d I ever rail more at Bishops than he here doth? What 1. So great a number of Bishops, 2. Deliberately in Council, 3. To affirm so vehemently, 4 Such matters of open Fact, 5. And offer it to the Trial of Witnesses of both sides; and all this to be false, 6. And to be but the consequent of former Subornations and Perjury; can you name greater wickedness?

Obj. But they were *Arians*. *Answ.* But they were Bishops. The worse for being *Arians*. 2. Yet called but *Semi-Arians*, and renounced *Arius*, and pretended Reconciliation. 3. And they were the Oriental part of the Council at *Sardica*, called *General* by the Papists. 4. And they were believed against *Marcellus* by *Basil* and *Chrysostom*: But all that I cite it for, is to tell the Reader what a doleful case the Church was faln into, by the depravation of the Bishops. Did none of these profess before to be Orthodox? I do not say that it was *quatenus* Bishops that they did all this, but that multitudes of Bishops were then become the shame and calamity of the Church.

§ 13. Next he scorningly accuseth me for giving too soft a Character of the *Circumcellians*; and saith, *My Moderation and Charity may extend to* John *of* Leyden. And he calls them *The Most barbarous and desperate Villains that ever defamed Christianity by assuming the Title.*]

Ans. 1. This is the man that saith I rail. I named so many and great sins of theirs, that I little thought any Reader would have thought that I spared them too much. 2. Yet they were *Donatists*, and of them *Optatus* himself saith, *lib.* 5. ["*Apud vos*

"*&*

" & *apud nos Una est Ecclesiastica conversatio; Communes Le-*
" *ctiones: Eadem Fides; ipsa Fidei Sacramenta, eadem myste-*
" *ria*] that is, saith *Albaspine* [*Una Ecclesiastica disciplina: Eodem modo Scripturas Explicamus: Ipsa Regula Fidei: Idem Mysterium quod confertur & significatur, & eadem res visibilis per quam res spiritualis datur*] in *lib.* 5. *p.* 153.

And saith *Optatus, lib.* 1. [*Nequis dicat me inconsiderate eos fratres appellare, qui tales sunt. Quamvis & illi non negent & omnibus notum sit, quod nos odio habeant, & execrentur, & nolunt se dici fratres nostros; tamen nos recedere à timore Dei non possumus---sunt igitur sine dubio fratres quamvis non boni: Quare nemo miretur eos me appellare fratres, qui non possunt non esse fratres.*

Obj. But the *Circumcellians* were worse than the rest.

Answ. They were of the same Religion, but the unruly furious part in their practice: And *Optatus* saith, Though they would rail in words [*sed unum quidem vix invenimus cum quo per literas, vel hoc modo loquatur:*] And so goes on to call *Parmenian* his Brother. And it's worth the consideration how much *Albaspine* includeth in *Fraternity*; note first, & *in Observat.*

3. And they were Orthodox fierce Prelatists, doing all this for the preheminence of their Bishops. And what if *some Prelatists now* should hurt their Brethren more than the *Circumcellians* did, must I call them therefore *the most barbarous Villains that ever defamed Christianity. Augustine* saith, They made a Water of some Salt or sharp thing, and cast in mens Eyes in the night in the streets: No man can think that this barbarous action was done by the most, or any but some furious fools: They say that they would wound themselves to bring hatred on the Catholicks, as if they had done it, or drove them to it: He that knoweth what Self-love is, will believe that this was the case but of a few; and an easier wrong than some that abhor them do to their Brethren. And must we needs Rail indeed against such numbers of hurtful Prelatists? What if any rude persons of your Church should be Whoremongers, Drunkards, Blasphemers, and seek the Imprisonment of their Brethren, yea their Defamation and Blood by Perjury, should the Church be for their sakes so called, as you call them? I speak them no fairer than *Optatus* did.

§ 14. When *p.* 57. I commend the many good Canons of the *African* Councils, and the faithfulness of the Bishops, he noteth none

none of this, because it proveth the untruth of his former Accusations.

And when I name twenty five or twenty six more Councils of Bishops, some General, and some less, which were for Arianism, or a compliance with them, he defendeth none of them, but excuseth them, and saith, that [*they were not much to the honour of the Church: Yet the evil Edicts and Consequences of them are rather to be charged on the* Arian *Emperour, than the Bishops.*]

Answ. 1. This is the same man that elsewhere so overdoes me in accusing the *Arians.*

2. The Emperour was Erroneous, but said to be otherwise very commendable. And is it not more culpable for Bishops to Err in the Mysteries of *Divinity*, than a Lay-man? And for many hundred to Err, than for *One Man?* And do you think that the Bishops Erring did not more to seduce the Flocks, than the Emperour's?

But he saith, that [*If many fell in the Day of Tryal, they are rather to be pitied, than insulted over, for we have all the same infirmities,* &c.

Answ. I wrote in pity of them and the Church, without any insulting purpose. If any now to avoid lying in Prison, and starving their Families, by Famine, should surrender their Consciences to sinful Subscriptions after a Siege of Nineteen years, I shall pity them, and not insult over them. Nay, if I speak of those that lay the Siege, and call out for more Execution, I do it not insultingly, but with a grieved heart for the Church and them.

But when I largely recited *Hillary*'s words of them, he saith, [*The Account is very sad*] (and what said I more?) *But*, saith he, *yet such as shews rather the Calamity, than the Fault of the Bishops.*]

Answ. Nay then, no doubt, it's no fault to Conform. *Hillary* then, and all that kept their ground, were in a great fault for so heavily accusing them. And so the World turned *Arians* in shew (as *Hierom* and *Hillary* speak) is much acquit, and the Nonconformists are the faulty Railers for accusing them. It had been enough to say, *It was no Crime*; but to say, *no Fault*, is too gentle for the same man that so talkt of Perjured *Arians* before.

§ 15. Yet because he is forced to confess that it was *most by far* of all the Bishops, even in *Councils* (he of *Rome* not excepted)

cepted) that thus fell, he must shew how it offended him to be forced to it, by telling the world how contentious *I have been against all sorts and Sects* (the first is false, and he knows it I think, and the latter is true formally of a *Sect as such*; even his *own Sect.*) And *some judge me such a stranger to Peace, as to need a Moderator to stand between me and the Contradictions of my own Books.*]

Answ. Yes, the Bishops Advocate *Roger L'Estrange*, where nothing but gross ignorance, or malice, or negligence, could have found Contradictions, were the whole places perused. And where I am sure my self, that there is none; I have somewhat else to do than to write more, to shew the Calumnies of such Readers. Who most seeks Peace, you, or those that you prosecute? One would think it should not be hard to know if men be willing.

CHAP. XX.

Of the first General Council at Constantinople. His *Cap.* 4.

§ 1. HE begins with accusing me of imitating the Devil; Doth *Job serve God for nought*? because I say that [*the reason why the West was freer from the* Arian *Heresie, than the East, was not as the Papists say, that Christ prayed for* Peter, *that his Faith might not fail, but because the Emperours in the West were Orthodox, and those in the East* Arians: And the Bishops much followed the Emperour's will.]

What, saith he, *can be more unchristian?*

Answ. 1. I never said that this was the *Only Cause.*

2. I proved that this Priviledge of *Rome* was not the meaning of Christ's Prayer.

3. Is not this the same man that even now laid the fall of far more Bishops, even most in the World, on the Emperour, as overcoming them by force and fraud?

4. Doth not God himself keep men usually from strong temptations, when he will deliver them from sin?

5. Were not the Eastern Bishops, and the Western, of the same mold and temper? And if the Eastern followed the Emperours,

rours, had not the Weſtern been in danger if they had the like temptation?

6. Doth not *Baſil* that ſent to them for help, complain of them as proud, and no better than their Brethren?

7. Did not *Marcellinus* fall to Idolatry, and *Liberius* to ſubſcribe againſt *Athanaſius* with the *Arians*?

8. Did not the Weſt actually fall to Arianiſm when tempted for the moſt part? Judge by the great Council at *Milan*, and by *Hillary*'s complaints.

9. Hath *Rome* and the Weſt ſtood faſter to the Truth ſince then? What! all the Popes who are by Councils charged with Hereſie or Infidelity, and all wickedneſs, and thoſe many whoſe Lives even by *Baronius* and *Genebrard*, are ſo odiouſly deſcribed? Is the Weſt at this day free from Popery and its fruits?

10. Do you think in your conſcience that if we had not here a Proteſtant King, but a Papiſt, many of the Clergy would not be Papiſts? Why then are they ſo in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Poland*, &c? And why did the moſt of them turn in Q. *Mary*'s daies? I do not inſult, but lament the Churches Caſe, which ever ſince Wealth and Honour, and too much Power corrupted it, have had Biſhops far more worldly, and leſs faithful than they were the firſt three hundred years. Though I ſtill ſay that ever ſince, God hath in all times raiſed ſome ſerious Believers that have kept up ſerious Piety in the Church: And as I doubt not but there are ſo many ſuch among the Conformiſts, as is our great Joy, ſo I hope that, though foully blotted with Superſtition and Errour, there are many ſuch among the Papiſts themſelves.

§ 2. Yet he ſaith, *I do the Biſhops Right again, without thinking of doing them Juſtice, while I tell how many were murdered.*

Anſw. 1. Doth he know my thoughts? 2. It's true I intended not to do any other Juſtice, than to praiſe Chriſt's Martyrs and Confeſſors, while I lament the Caſe of Perſecutors and Revolters? Is the praiſe of Confeſſors any honour to the Hereticks?

But perhaps he means, I right the Order of Biſhops. *Anſw.* Did I ever ſay or think that there were no Biſhops that kept the Faith? Do I ſay All fell, when I ſay Moſt fell? The Man ſpeaks as his imagined Intereſt leads him, and ſo interpreteth my words to his own ſenſe, not as written. And if that be the

right

right way, I think he will grant that there were more Martyrs and Sufferers under *Valens*, *Constantius*, *Hunnericus*, and *Gensericus*, in the East, and in *Africk*, by far, than were when their Tryal came in all the West that is now subject to the Pope. And what moved the man to dream that when I so describe and praise their constancy in Suffering, I did it as at unawares ?

That the greater part of the Bishops of the Empire were *Arians*, I will not offer by Testimony to prove, when it is so commonly by Fathers, Historians, by Papists and Protestants agreed on. How many of them were Bishops before, and how many but Presbyters or Deacons, I'le not pretend to number. The turning of multitudes all agree on. The Constancy of many he falsly intimateth that I deny, and saith, *I injuriously represent them*, and cannot tell a word wherein that Crime is found.

§ 3. Naming the things that were done by the Council at *Constantinople*, I mention both the setting up, and after the putting down of *Gregory*; & lest any Caviller should carp at the word [*putting down*] I presently open particularly what it was that they did toward it; that resolving on his deposition, they caused him, though unwilling, rather to give it up, than stay till they cast him out. This great Historian had no more manlike an Exception here, than to say, that against all History, and against my own Explication, I say that [*They Deposed him.*] I said [*They put him down*] in the manner, and as far as I explained.

§ 4. While he here himself accuseth the *Times* then of *General Corruption*, and the *Church* of *Divisions*, adding, [*What Age hath been so happy as not to labour under those Evils?*] he accuseth me of making misuse of *Gregory*'s words, to represent the Council in an odious manner.

Answ. It is to represent the worser part in a lamentable manner, as far as *Gregory* did, and no further. And as to his quarrel at my citation, I shall say no more; but if the Reader will but read *Gregory*'s own words, I willingly leave all that Cause to his Judgment: If he will not, my words cannot inform him.

Yet he himself saith [*He doth indeed in several places find fault with this Council*] And can you forgive him? I think I find no more than he did. But for this *you* find fault *with him* [*He did resent the Injury* (And was it an *Injury?*) *and did not bear the deprivation of his Bishoprick with the same generosity he proposed, which made him a little more sharp than was decent in his repre-*

sentation of the Bishops---What wonder if sharpened with discontent, he exclaim with somewhat too great a passion against the administration of the Church which he had been forced to quit] *Ans.* All will be confest *anon*, when I have been accused for saying it before him: That's his way. But it was not for leaving a high and fat Bishoprick that he was grieved, but for being separated from the People that he had partly served in their lower state, and partly won from Heresie, and who came about him with tears intreating him not to forsake them. And though it were more than *generosity* to set light by the Honour and Wealth, it is treachery to set light by Souls: And they changed to their great loss. He resigned much to quiet the People lest they should do as they did for *Chrysostom* after him. It is no new thing for the Major vote of the Clergy to Envy those few that are better and more esteemed than themselves, nor yet for the Godly People to be loth to leave such pastors.

§ 5. He saith [*His censure of Councils that he knew none of them that have any happy End, was not the fault of the expedient, but of the men*] *Ans.* And what did I ever say more. It is his custom when he hath stormed at me, to say in Effect the same that he stormed at. Some Papists would persuade men, that it was only *Arian* Councils that he meant, but most Protestants that Write about Councils against them, do cite & vindicate these words of *Gregory*: And the impartial Papists confess that it was the Councils also of the Catholicks that there and else where he spake of.

§ 6. In the Case of *Meletius*, and *Paulinus*, two Bishops in a City, and the Case of *Lucifer Calaritanus* made a Heretick for separating from lapsed *Arians*, he saith over the same that I do; that *good men cannot rightly understand one another, and so it ever hath been, and it's the Effect of humane frailty and not Episcopacy.* In all this I agree. But 1. If humane frailty make Bishops swell in pride and ambition, and domineering, it hath far worse Effects than in other men: 2. And Bishops are bound to excell their flocks in Piety, humility, Selfdenyal, peaceableness, as well as in knowledge. If the Physicians of this city should prove unskilful, and yet confident where they err, it is not *quatenus Physicians* that they are such: But if it be *qui* Physicians that are such, they may kill thousands, while the same faults in all their neighbours may kill few or none. If your Interest made you not smart and angry without cause, you would not cavil against such plain truth.

§ 7. About

§ 7. About the Priſcillianiſts he ſaith [*I all along obſerve this Rule, to be very favourable to all Hereticks and Schiſmaticks be they never ſo much in the wrong, and to fall on the Orthodox party and improve every miſcarriage of theirs into a mighty crime.*]

Anſ. If all along this accuſation be falſe, then all a long your Hiſtory ſerveth ſuch a uſe. But in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, he is favourable to Hereticks that takes not the orthodox for ſuch, or that is not for racking and burning them. And in *England* he is favourable to Schiſmaticks that taketh not the greateſt lovers of Piety and peace for ſuch, and the Church Tearers for Church-Healers: As Mr. *Dodwell* phraſeth it, they are Schiſmaticks that *ſuffer themſelves to be excommunicate* (for unſinful things in the Biſhops account, and heinous ſin in theirs; and ſo that are not ſo ripe in Knowledge, as to know all the *unſinful things* to be ſuch which may be impoſed.

§ 8. What would this enemy of railing have had me ſaid more than I did of the Priſcillianiſts? *viz.* that they were *Gnoſticks and Manichees?* Was not that bad Enough. No, I favour them ſtill? And what ſay I more of the Biſhops and the whole cauſe, than *Sulpitius Severus* the fulleſt and moſt knowing Deſcriber ſaith? Why doth he not accuſe him for the ſame deſcription? Yea and their Mr. *Ri. Hooker* who in the Preface to his *Eccl. Pol.* ſaith of *Ithacius* the like? Yea *Baronius* himſelf conſenteth? Where I ſay that to the death *Martin* ſeparated from the ſynods of theſe Biſhops (I ſaid not from all Biſhops in the world) he ſaith, he *renounced only the Communion of* Ithacius *his Party, and that others did as well as he.* Reader, it will be thy folly to take either his word or mine, what an Author ſaith, when we differ, without looking into the Book it ſelf. Read *Sulpitius Severus*; I will tranſcribe ſome words, leſt he ſay, I miſtranſlate them.

" *Priſcillianus, familia nobilis, prædives opibus, acer, inquies,*
" *facundus, multa lectione eruditus, differendi & diſputandi promptiſſimus---vigilare multum, famem & ſitim ferre poterat, habendi*
" *minime cupidus, utendi parciſſimus* (Was it a crime to ſay ſo
" much good of him?) But proud of his Learning, ſet up a Hereſie, and two Biſhops *Inſtantius* and *Salvianus* ioyned with
" him, and made him a Biſhop---At *Cæſar Auguſta* one Synod
" was gathered againſt him. The Story I before recited. Next
" a Synod at *Burdeaux* tryeth them. Saith *Sulpitius* [" *Ac mea*

" *quidem sententia est, mihi tam reos quam accusatores displicere.*
" *Certe Ithacium nihil pensi, nihil sancti habuisse definio : fuit enim*
" *audax, loquax, impudens, sumptuosus, ventri & gulæ plurimum*
" *impertiens. Hic stultitiæ eo usque processerat ut omnes etiam*
" *sanctos viros, quibus aut studium erat lectionis, aut propositum*
" *erat certare jejuniis, tanquam Priscilliani socios aut discipulos in*
" *crimen arcesseret. Ausus etiam miser est ea tempestate Martino*
" *Episcopo---palam objectare hæresis infamiam. Imperator per*
" *Magnum & Rufum Episcopos depravatus à mitioribus consiliis de-*
" *flexus*--So he tells how many were put to death---*Cæterum*
" *Priscilliano occiso, non solum non repressa est hæresis-- sed confir-*
" *mata, latius propagata est: Namque sectatores ejus qui eum*
" *prius ut sanctum honoraverant, postea ut Martyrem colere cæpe-*
" *runt. Ac inter nostros perpetuum discordiarum bellum exarserat,*
" *quod jam per quindecim annos fœdis dissensionibus agitatum,*
" *nullo modo sopiri poterat. Et nunc cum maxime discordiis Epis-*
"*coporum turbari aut misceri omnia cernerentur, cunctaque per eos*
" *odio aut gratia, metu, inconstantia, invidia, factione, libidine,*
" *avaritia, arrogantia, somno, desidia, essent depravata: Postremo*
" *plures adversus paucos bene consulentes, insanis consiliis & perti-*
" *nacibus studiis certarent : Inter hæc Plebs Dei, & Optimus quis-*
" *que probro atque ludibrio habebatur.*] So ends *Sulpitius* History.

Do you not see, Mr. *Morrice*, that there have been Prelates and Puritanes, even Episcopal Puritanes before our Times? Doth not your stomach rise against *Sulpitius* as too Puritanical and severe? Is not my Language of most of the Bishops soft in comparison of his? Yet he was so early as to live in that which you now call the most flourishing Time of the Church. Sir, I hate Discord, and love Peace; but I never look that the Enmity between the Woman's and the Serpent's Seed, or *Cain* and *Abel*, should be ended; or that the holy Title of Bishops and Priests should reconcile ungodly men to Saints. Sir, *England* knoweth, that though some factious persons have done otherwise, the main Body of those that your Law doth Silence, Ruine and Revile, have a high esteem of such Bishops as have been seriously godly; such as were many in Antient and late Times: And deride it as long as you will, the seriously religious People in *England* are they that are most against Church-Tyranny, and which Party most of the debauched and prophane are of, hath long been known.

§ 9. But

§ 9. But the Reader shall further hear how little you are to be trusted. Saith *Sul. in Vita Mart.* [*Apud Nemausium Episcoporum Synodus habebatur ad quam quidem ire noluerat*---(There's another Synod.)

Et pag. 584. In *Mon. Pat.* [" *Maximus Imperator aliâs vir* " *bonus, depravatus consiliis Sacerdotum, post Priscilliani necem* " *Ithacium Episcopum Priscilliani accusatorem cæterosq; illius socios,* " *quos nominare non est necesse vi regia tuebatur.*---*Congregati apud* " *Treveros Episcopi* (there's another Synod) *tenebantur, qui quotidie* " *communicantes Ithacio communem sibi causam fecerant: His ubi* " *nunciatum est inopinantibus, adesse Martinum, totis animis la-* " *befacti, mussitare & trepidare cœperunt.*---*Nec dubium erat quin* " *Sanctorum etiam maximam turbam tempestas ista depopulatura* " *esset. Etenim tunc solis oculis discernunt inter hominum genera,* " *cum quis Pallore potius aut Veste, quam fide, hæreticus æstimare-* " *tur. Hæc nequaquam placitura Martino Episcopi faciebant.*--- " *Ineunt cum Imperatore Consilium ut missis obviam Magistri of-* " *ficialibus, urbem istam* (*Martinus*) *vetaretur propius accedere.* (But it was not five Miles from all Cities and Corporations.)--- " *Interea Episcopi quorum communionem Martinus non in ibat tre-* " *pidi ad Regem concurrunt, per damnatos se conquerentes actum* " *esse de suo omnium statu, si Theognisti pertinaciam, qui eos SO-* " *LUS palam lata sententia condemnaverat, Martini armaret au-* " *thoritas: Non oportuisse hominem capi mœnibus illis: Non jam* " *defensorem hæreticorum esse, sed vindicem* (Methinks I read Mr. " *Morrice*) *Nihil actum morte Priscilliani si Martinus exerceat* " *illius ultionem.* (These men have done nothing till they " have destroy'd all that are against their Tyranny.) *Postremo* " *prostrati cum fletu* (they could weep too) *& lamentatione Po-* " *testatem Regiam implorant, ut utatur adversus UNUM homi-* " *nem vi sua: Nec multum aberat quin cogeretur Imperator Mar-* " *tinum cum hæreticorum sorte miscere.*] But the Emperour know- " ing his eminent Holiness and Reputation, tryeth persuasion; " [*& blande appellat, hæreticos jure damnatos, more judiciorum* " *publicorum, potius quam in sectationibus Sacerdotum: Non esse* " *causam qua Ithacii cæterorumq; partis ejus communionem, puta-* " *ret esse damnandam, Theognistum odio potius quam causa, feciss* " *dissidium; Eundemq; tamen SOLUM esse qui se à communione* " *interim separavit; a reliquis nihil novatum.*] You see here that " M. *M.* saith truly, that *Martin* separated but from the Bishops " of

" of *Ithacius*'s Party: That is, All save one *Theognistus* (and " *Iginus* is elsewhere named.) Is not here a great accord of the Bishops?) [" *Quinetiam paucos ante dies habita Synodus* (Sy- " nods still) *Ithacium pronunciaverat culpa non teneri*] no won- " der: Synods have justified the forbidding of two thousand to " Preach the Gospel.) At last when no other Remedy could " save the Lives of men from the Leeches, *Martin* yielded once " to communicate with the Bishops on condition the mens " Lives should be saved: The Bishops would have had him " *Subscribe* this Communion: But that he would never do. [*Po-* " *sterodie inde se proripiens, cum revertens in viam mœstus ingemisce-* " *ret, se vel ad horam noxiæ communioni esse permixtum--sub-* " *sedit, causam doloris & facti accusante & defendente cogitatione* " *pervolvens, astitit ei repente Angelus*; Merito inquit Martine " *compungeris, sed aliter exire nequisti: Repara virtutem: resume* " *Constantiam; ne jam non periculum gloriæ, sed salutis incur-* " *reris. Itaque ab illo tempore satis cavit, cum illa Ithacianæ* " *partis communione misceri. Caterum cum quosdam ex inergu-* " *menis, tardius quam solebat, & gratia minore curabat, subinde* " *nobis cum lachrymis fatebatur, se propter communionis illius ma-* " *lum cui se vel puncto temporis necessitate, non spiritu miscuisset, de-* " *trimentum sentire virtutis. Sedecim postea vixit annos: Nul-* " *lam Synodum adiit; ab omnibus Conventibus se removit.*] Now Reader, judge how great *Ithacius*'s Party was, that boasted but one or two men were against them: And whether *Martin* separated not from their common Synods.

Methinks I see Mr. *M.* here in the strait of the Pharisees, when put to answer whether *John*'s Baptism was from Heaven, or of men. Fain he would make *Martin* and *Sulpitius* Puritanes and Fanaticks; but the Church hath made a Holy day for *Martin*, and dedicated multitudes of Temples to his Honour; and all men reverence *Sulpitius* and him. Yet he ventures to go as far as he durst *p.* 142. against them.

§ 10. But here Mr. *M.* smarteth, and saith [*This Instance could become none worse than Mr.* B. *who in a Letter to Dr.* Hill *confesses himself to have been a Man of Blood--*]

Answ. A *Man of Blood* is your Libertine Phrase. If you would have published that secret Letter, you should 1. Have told the whole, and worded it truly; 2. And have professed your self a derider of Repentance, while you call for it. I lived in an Age

of

of War, and I was on the Parliaments side, and that was enough to prove that I had a hand in blood while I was on one side, though I never drew blood of any man my self (save once a Boy at School with boxing.)

But he thinks I should have imitated *Martin* in renouncing Communion with men of blood.

Answ. Martin renounced Communion with those that were for destroying even downright Hereticks. Alas Sir, I dare not renounce Communion with these that Silence thousands of faithful Ministers, and continue still to Plead, Preach, and Write for their Prosecution by Imprisonment and Ruine. I hope many do it in Ignorance, and if I do it, it may increase the distance that I would heal. Nonconformists are no Priscillianists.

And if I renounce Communion with all that were in Wars, it must be with some present Bishops, and a great part of the Land.

But I understand you; it must be with all that were in Arms for the Parliament, *&c.* *Answ.* The King then will condemn me by his Act of Oblivion, and by his own practice: Hath he not one of them for the Lord President of his Council? and many more in Trust and Honour? Did he renounce Communion with General *Monk* and his whole Army, who were long in Arms for the Parliament? Or with the Citizens, and multitudes of Commanders through the Land, who drew in, & encouraged General *Monk*? Or the Ministers that persuaded Sir *Tho. Allen*, Lord Mayor, to draw him in?

To be plain with you Sir (though you call it Railing) Men of your Faculty kindled the Fire, and set the Nation together by the Ears, and when sad experience brought them to repentance and to desire unity and peace, and those that had fought for the Parliament had restored the King, this evil Spirit envyeth the Kingdom the benefit of this concord, and would fain break us again into contending Parties, and will not let King and Kingdom have peace, while God giveth us peace from all foreign enemies. Do we need any other notice what a Contentious Clergy have still been, than the woful experience of what they are. If you would have had *G. Monk* and his Army, and all such that joyned with him destroyed or excommunicate for what they had done, why did you not speak out at first, but when we would all fain have peace and concord thus twenty years after cast your Wild-

fire

fire you warn the Preſent Duke of *Albemarle* to expect to be at laſt called to account for his original ſin.

§ 11. But his paſſion makes him ſay he knows not what, P. 142 [" I need not call Mr. *B.* to remembrance who compared " *Cromwel* to *David* and his Son to *Solomon*; But this has tran- " ſported me a little too far.]

Anſ. He ſaith this plainly of me afterward, to ſhew the credibility of his Hiſtory? Did he know it to be falſe? If ſo, there's no diſputing with him. If not, why did he not cite my words. Yea he after tranſcribes the Epiſtle meant, where he ſaw there were no ſuch words: But others had told that tale before him, and that was Enough. Even as one of his tribe hath written that I have written in my Holy Common-wealth, that *any one Peer may judge the King.* If theſe Epiſcopal Hiſtorians tell forreigners that we have all Cloven Feet and Horns, and go on four legs, yea and if ſome ſwear it, we have no remedy: They can prove our noſes horns, and our hands Feet.

I again tell them, If *Martins* Angel and Miracles be credible, woe to thoſe Prelatiſts that are for ruining violence, and ſilences againſt men better than the *Gnoſticks.* If they be not true, let them not truſt too much to the beſt Hiſtorians.

§ 12. Of the Council at *Capua* I ſaid that they decreed that the two Biſhops and their People *ſhould live* in loving Communion, Mr. *M.* finds me miſtaken here. The words in *Binnius* are [*Ut tam Flaviani quam Evagrii fautores in Communionem Catholicam admittantur, modo Catholicæ fidei aſſertores inveniantur*] I thought Catholick Communion had been *Loving Communion*: And I thought if their fautors were to be received, ſo were they: And I thought *Antioch* had been a part of the Catholick Church, and Catholick Communion had extended to *Antioch*: But if Mr. M. deny theſe, I will not contend with him.

§ 13. He tells us, that [*No man with his Eyes open ever ſaw the Condemnation of* Bonoſus *by the Council of* Capua] (for denying the Virgin Mary's perpetual Virginity.

Anſw. It is Criticiſm and not Hiſtory that the man is beſt at. They did it mediately, while they referred it to them that did it. Saith *Binnius* [" *Cauſa Bonoſi cujuſdam in* Macedonia *Epiſco-* " *pi hæretici, negantis delibatam Dei genitricis* Mariæ *Virginita-* " *tem, poſt partum in judicium deducta eſt. Synodus cognitionem* " *cauſæ Anyſio Theſſalonienſi cum Epiſcopis ipſi ſubjectis delegavit:*

" *Ab*

" *Ab Anysio Bonosum damnatum, eorumque quos ordinasset commu-*
" *nione privatum esse testatur Innoc. P.* And he knows it's a Heresie now. Yet this Council condemned Reordinations.

§ 14. That *Jovinian* a Monk was called a Heretick, for Doctrines judged sound by Protestants, is no strange thing. That one not a Bishop was the Head of a Heresie, was somewhat strange then, but not before they got too high.

As to the Question, Whether Bishops were the Chief Heads and Fomenters of Heresie, I crave his impartial Answer to these Questions. 1. Do not your selves maintain that all Churches in the world had Bishops; and that the Bishops were the Rulers, and of Chief Power? If so, can you imagine that after they had such Power, Churches could be usually made Hereticks without them?

Q. 2. Do not Councils, and all Church-History tell us how many Councils of Hereticks there have been that were Bishops?

Q. 3. If any Presbyter broke from his Bishop to set up a Heresie, was it not one that sought to be a Bishop? Or did they not make presently him or some other their Bishop and Head? Heresie or Popery had made but small progress, had it not been for Bishops.

§ 15. When I commend the *Novatians* Canon, which allowed all men Liberty for the Time of *Easter*, as better than burning men as Hereticks, he takes it for an *Immoderate Transport* that I say ["*as loud as I can speak, If all the Proud, Ambitious,* " *Heretica*ting *part of the Bishops had been of this mind, O what* " *sin, what scandal, and what shame, what cruelties, confusions and* " *miseries had the Christian world escaped?*] That is, had they left such Indifferent things as Indifferent.

And is this against Moderation? I would such Zeal of God's House had more eaten me up: Dare you deny but that this course would have saved the Lives of all those thousands of *Albigenses, Waldenses,* and *Bohemians* that the Papists killed: And the death and torment of multitudes by the Inquisition? And the burning of our *Smithfield* Martyrs: And it's like most of the Wars between the Old Popes and Emperours about Investitures? And the blood of many thousand more. And it would have saved more Nations than ours from the Tearing and Division of Churches by the Ejecting and Silencing of hundreds or thousands of their Pastors, as the case of the *Germane Interim,* and other

such actions prove. And is it *Immoderate Transport* to with all this Blood, Schism, Hatred and Confusion, and weakning and shaming of the Church had been prevented at the rate of *Tolerating Indifferent things:* No wonder if you had rather *England* still suffered what it doth, and is in danger of by Schism, than such things Indifferent shall be tolerated: It is not for nothing that Christ and *Paul* repeat, that some *have Eyes and see not, Ears and hear not*, &c.

§ 16. And here he again would make his Reader think it's true, that the Nonconformists pretend that their Silencing is for not keeping *Easter* Day at the due Time; as if this man that liveth among us did not know, that it is the *avoiding of deliberate Lying by subscribing to a known untruth*, which is the thing that they refuse; and they mention it only as an appurtenance of the Imposition *ad homines*, that it would bind them to *two different times.*

Whether, as he saith, *our disease be a wantonness fed by concession, and we are most violent when we know not what we would have*, those men are no credible Judges that for seventeen years would not endure us to speak out our Case; and when before we debated part of it, would not vouchsafe to answer us; and at last when we tell it them, do but accuse us with a sharper storm, instead of giving any thing that a man can call an Answer that ever knew the Case, *e.g.* to our *Pleas for Peace*, and my *Treatise of Episcopacy.*

§ 17. He confesseth that I praise the *African* Bishops as the best in the world, though it contradict his former charge. As to the Magnitude of Dioceses, when he hath answered my Treat. of Episcopacy, some body may be edified by him.

I agree with him that *Good men will do much Good in a great Diocese.* But 1. Worldly Bishops are so far bad: And worldly Wealth and Honour will ever be most sought by the most worldly men: And usually he that seeks shall find---*Ergo*---And 2. A good man cannot do Impossibilities: The best cannot do the work of many hundred.

Forty two years ago some wisht for the Restoring of Confession.

Theophilus Parochialis brings copious Reasons and Orders of Princes, Popes and Prelates, that all should confess to the Parish-Priest. If you had set this up here, how many men must have gone

gone to it in the Parishes of St. *Martin, Giles Cripplegate, Stepney*, &c? But how much greater work hath Dr. *Hammond*, and Old Councils, cut out for him that will be the sole Bishop of many hundred Parishes? I have named it elsewhere.

And, if any man of consideration think I have not proved against Mr. *Dodwell*, that Bishops Government is not like a King's, who may make what Officers under him he please, but depends more as a Physician's or School-master's on *Personal Ability*, I will now add but this Question to him [*Why is it that Monarchy may be hereditary, and a Child or Infant may be King*] *but an Infant may not be Bishop, nor any one not qualified with Essential Ability?* I have at large told you how sharply *Baronius* and *Binnius* condemn that odious Nullity of making a Child (by his Father's Power) A. Bishop of *Rhemes*.

If I heard twenty men say and swear that one man is sufficient to be the only Master of many hundred Schools, or Physician to many hundred Hospitals, or that one Carpenter or Mason may alone build and rear all the Houses in the City after the Fire, or one man be the sole Master of an hundred thousand Families; what can I say to him, but that he never tryed or knows the work?

§ 18. When I note that the *Donatists* took themselves for the Catholicks, and the Adversaries for Schismaticks, because they were the greater number, he very honestly saith, that *Multitude may render a Sect formidable, but it's no Argument of Right*.

Very true; nor Secular Power neither. But what better Argument have the Papists, and many others that talk against Schism?

§ 19. He thinks the *Donatists Bishops Churches were not so small as our Parishes. Answ.* Not as some: But if, as I said before, *Constantinople* in the height of all it's Glory in *Chrysostom*'s daies, had but 100000 Christians, as many as three *London*-Parishes have, judge then what the *Donatists* had.

§ 20. His double quarrel with *Binnius* and *Baronius*, let who will mind. What I gathered out of those and other Canons of the smalness of Churches then, I have elsewhere made good: His Reviling Accusations of *Envy* to their Wealth, deserveth no Answer.

§ 21. He comes to St. *Theophilus*'s Case, of which we spake

before. The Monks that reported evil of him, *were, it may be,* saith he, *downright Knaves,* The Reviling is blameless when applied to such. Doubtless they were ignorant rash Zealots: But one that reads what the *Egyptian* Monks were in *Anthony's* daies, and after, and what Miracles and Holiness, *Sulpitius Severus* reporteth of them, and why *Basil* retired into his Monastery, *&c.* may conjecture that they had much less worldliness than the Bishops, and not greater faults.

§ 22. I think it not desirable or pleasant work to vindicate the credit of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* accusing *Theophilus*: But if his Conjectures in this case may serve against express History of such men, and so near, let him leave other Histories as loose to our Conjectures. *Posthumianus* Narrative in *Sulpitius*, is but of one piece of the Tragedy. He thinks it improbable that *Origen* should be accused for making God *Incorporeal*; and such Conjectures are his Confutation of History: But *Origen* had two sort of Accusers; the Bishops, such as *Theophilus* and *Epiphanius* had worse charges against him: But the *Anthropomorphite* Monks were they that brought that Charge against him (that God had no face, hands, eyes.) And *Theophilus* before them cryed down *Origen* in general, to save his life, by deceiving them, that they might think he did it on the same account as they did. This is *Socrates* his Report of the Case.

He saith, that *the Impudent Mutinous Monks were not ashamed to tell all the world, that all that were against them were Anthropophites.*

Answ. It was other Monks that I here talk not of, that he means: It was these Monks that were *Anthropomorphites* themselves, and would have killed *Theophilus* for not being so, till he said to them, *Methinks I see your faces as the Face of God*: And the name of the Face of God did quiet them. *Hierom* was a Party against *Chrysostom*; it was for not passing that Sentence on *Origen*, that *Epiphanius* would by masterly Usurpation have imposed on him, that *Chrysostom* was by him accused.

§ 23. Could any Sobriety excuse that man *Epiphanius*, that would come to the Imperial City, and there purposely intrude into the Cathedral of one of the best Bishops in the world, for Parts and Piety, and there play the Bishop over an A. Bishop in his own Church, and seek to set all the Auditory in a flame at the time of Publick Worship, and require him to say that of *Origen*,

Origen, which he there without any Authority impoſed on him? I know not what is Pride, Uſurpation, Turbulency, if not Malignity, if this be not.

But at laſt he ſaith, ["*I do not intend to excuſe* Theophilus *in* "*this particular:* (*Thank Pope* Innocent) *He did certainly pro-*"*ſecute his Reſentment too far: But he was not the only man*: "Epiphanius, *a perſon of great Holineſs*; Hierom, *and ſeveral* "*other perſons renowned for their Piety, were concerned in the per-*"*ſecution of this Great man, as well as he: And to ſay the truth,* "*this is their weakneſs; for that Severity which gives men gene-*"*rally a Reputation of Holineſs, though it mortifie ſome irregular* "*heats, yet is apt to diſpoſe men to peeviſhneſs.*]

But true Holineſs ever ſincerely loveth holy men, and ſpecially ſuch as are publick Bleſſings to the Church: And though I cenſure not their main State, your *Holy Perſecutors* of the beſt of Chriſt's Servants, will never by Chriſt be judged ſmall Offenders.

Alas! it's too true that *Theophilus* was not alone: A Council of Biſhops were the Perſecutors. And it's hard to think that they loved *Chryſoſtom* as themſelves. When the forementioned Council at *Conſtantinople* had turned out *Nazianzen*, even the great magnifiers of General Councils, *Baronius* and *Binnius*, thus reproach them, that they *drove away a holy excellent man, that a man was ſet up in his ſtead that was no Chriſtian; that it was the* Epiſcopi Nundinarii *that did it, the Oriental Biſhops firſt leaving them, and going away with* Gregory. And if the *Major* Vote of that General Council were *Epiſcopi Nundinarii*, what *Chryſoſtom*'s Perſecutors were may be conjectured. Do not theſe Papiſts here ſay worſe of them than I do?

§ 24. Yet though he confeſs as much as is aforeſaid, and bring but his Conjectures mixt with palpable omiſſions againſt the expreſs words of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, he hath the face to make up his failing with this Calumny ["*I have dwelt ſo long on* "*this, not only to vind cate* Theophilus, *but to ſhew once for all the* "*manner of our Author's dealing with his Reader in his Church-*"*Hiſtory. Any ſcandalous Story, though it be as falſe and impro-*"*bable as any in the* Anni Mirabiles, *or* Whites Centuries *of Scan-*"*dalous Miniſters, any Fiction that reflects with diſgrace on* "*Biſhops and Councils is ſet down for authontick, no matter who* "*delivers it, friend or foe.*]

Anſw.

" therefore there is no great credit to be given them in these " Relations, as manifestly espousing the Cause and Quarrel of " the *Novatians*.]

Answ. 1. Just as *Thuanus* or *Erasmus* espoused the Cause of the Protestants by Truth and Peace, when others hated and belied them. 2. Methinks the man revileth me very gently in comparison of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, the two most impartial and credible of all our Antient Church-Historians (with *Theodoret.*) But who can wonder that he imitateth that which he defendeth.

§ 4. But he saith, [*It may be the* Novatians *deserved it--- and it's not unlikely that they were very troublesom and seditious.*]

Answ. It's *not unlikely* now that others will say it was so. But mark Reader which of these Historians is most credible [*Socrates* and *Sozomen* lived with those that knew the things and persons: They have told us Truth in the rest of their Histories: If they had been *Novatians*, Mr. *M.* saith, They believed sinning after Baptism had no pardon or absolution: And were they not like then to fear such Lying and false Accusing as paints a Saint like the Devil or Antichrist.] On the other side [Mr. *M.* liveth above a thousand years after them: He is one of the Party that take it to be not only lawful, but a duty to say and swear all that is imposed now, which I will not here describe: How truly he writes the History of his own Age, even of Parliament and Wars, and living persons, I have told you. He saith no more against the Historians credit here, but [*it may be*] and [*it's not unlikely*] and [*they were* Novatians, Schismaticks, Alexandrians.] Even so their Counterminer, and many Conformists, that have many years reported us to be Raising a War against the King, had their [*May-be's*] and [*It's not unlikely*] and [*they are Schismaticks*] *to prove it:* And others soon rose up and swore it. And when some lament their Perjury, it stops not the rest. But some have such *Free-will*, that they can believe whom they list.

§ 5. *Socrates*, saith he, *makes it part of his charge that he took on him the Government of temporal Affairs. This was not the Usurpation of the Bishop, but the Indulgence of the Emperour*: And he shews the Churches need of it.

Answ. That which he is charged with is, that *he was the first Bishop that himself used the Sword.* And 1. Do you think that so great a Patriarchate & Dioceses would not find a conscionable

nable Paſtor work enough, without joyning with it the Magiſtrates Office? 2. Was not the Church greatly changed even ſo early from what it was a little before in the daies of *Martin* and *Sulpitius*, when even *Ithacius* durſt not own being ſo much as a ſeeker to the Magiſtrate to draw the Sword againſt groſs Hereticks; and the beſt Biſhops denied Communion with them that ſought it: And now a Biſhop himſelf becomes the ſtriker not of groſs Hereticks, but ſuch as peaceable Biſhops bore with.

I remember not to have read that *Cyril* had any Commiſſion for the Sword from the Emperour: Others then had not: But I deny it not.

§ 6. He ſaith, that elſewhere I ſay [*I ſhall not diſhonour ſuch, nor diſobey them.*] *Anſw.* I ſay and do ſo: If a Biſhop will take another Calling from the King's Grant, when he hath undertaken already 40 times more work as a Dioceſan than he can do, Ile honour and obey him as a Magiſtrate: But I would be loth to ſtand before God under the guilt of his undertaking and omiſſions.

§ 7. As to all the reſt of the Hiſtory about *Cyril*'s Executions, and the wounding of *Oreſtes* the Governour, I leave it between the Credit of Mr. *M.* and *Socrates.*: And *he very much ſuſpects the Story of* Cyril's *making a Martyr of him that was executed for it*: I leave all to the Reader's Judgment. I think I may tranſcribe *Socrates* without ſlandering *Cyril.*

Here his ſpleen riſing, ſaith [*There are men in the world that honour ſuch as Martyrs for murdering a King.*]

Anſw. You may ſmell what he inſinuates: I think he will not ſay, that he ever did more againſt them than thoſe that they call Presbyterians have done. We Wrote and Preacht againſt them when he did not. I know not the Presbyterian living to my remembrance, that was not againſt the Murder of the King, and *Prin*, whom the Biſhops had cropt and ſtigmatized for being againſt them, as an *Eraſtian*, was the hotteſt in the Parliament, for the Execution of the King's Judges: But I knew divers Conformiſts that have written or ſpoken to juſtifie or excuſe that Fact.

§ 8. As for the Murder of *Hypatia*, I leave him to his ſcuffle with *Socrates* and *Damaſcius*, in which I intereſs not my ſelf.

§ 9. I thank Pope *Innocent* Mr. *M.* durſt not deny *Cyril's*

faults, in his Enmity to the memory of *Chrysostom*; and yet he calls my reciting the matter of Fact a *reproach*. He is constrained to confess ["*That the Quarrel was it seems hereditary to him*" (so is Original Sin) *and he did prosecute it beyond all equity or decency against the memory of a dead man: This was a fault, and and he that is without any, or without any particular animosity, specially if he be in any eminent place, let him cast the first stone.*]

Answ. Thanks to Conscience: We feel your Animosities: But is not this man a Railing Accuser of *Cyril*, if I am such? What saith he less in the main? Yea he now renews his Accusation of his Predecessor, saying, *It was hereditary*. To prosecute malice against the very name of a holy extraordinary Bishop, beyond *all equity and decency*--what will Christianity or Humanity call it? But Faction saith, *it was a fault, and he that is without any*, &c. Thus talkt *Eli* to his Sons: So one may say, To Silence 2000 Ministers, or to hate the best men, and seek their ruine, is *a fault*, a Prelatical peccadillo; and so was *Bonner*'s usage of the Martyrs; and let him that is without any cast the first stone. And St. *John* saith, *He that hateth his Brother is a murderer*, and none such hath Eternal Life abiding in him; and that as *Cain*, he is of the Evil One, the Devil. And I believe him.

§ 10. But he saith, *I injuriously charge him with calling* Alexander *a bold faced man, when* Atticus *was the first Author of that word.*

Answ. Atticus mentioned *Alexander*'s confident, true and necessary Counsel; *Cyril* contradicting it, calls the man, *A man of a confident face or mouth*. If another Bishop said the first words before him, do I wrong him in saying he said the *second*? O tender men! His urging the keeping up the names of such as *Nectarius* and *Arsacius*; and casting out *Chrysostomus*, is so like our Canons about Readers and Nonconformists, and our Canoneers descriptions of their Country Parsons, and the Puritanes, that I wonder not that you defend him.

§ 11. But he saith, that *It's a little unchristian to blast his memory with the faults which he corrected in his life-time.*]

Answ. 1. It's necessary to tell that truth which blasteth the Reputation of such sin as was growing up towards Papacy. *Ans.* 2. Then Christ was unchristian to tell the Jews of their very Fathers murders of the Prophets, while they disclaimed it, and built their Sepulchres, *Mat.* 23. And then it was unchristian in the

the Holy Ghoſt, to blaſt the memory of *Adam*, *Noe*, *Lot*, *David* *Solomon*, *Peter*, yea or *Manaſſeh*, with ſins repented of. 3. Hiſtory muſt ſpeak truth about things *repented* of; or elſe it will but deceive the world. 4. The Honour of God, and Goodneſs, and Truth, muſt be preferred before our own Honour. Repentance, if true, will moſt freely confeſs a mans own ſin, and moſt fully ſhame it.

§ 12. Whether all his far-fetcht Conjectures that *Cyril* repented, be true or no, is nothing to me. I will hope he did, though I never ſaw it proved: The very laſt Sentence of Death might do it. His retortion is, [*I know no man deeper engaged in the Contentions of the Church* (than I) *The writing of his Eighty Books being but like ſo many pitcht Battels he has fought, and moſt commonly in the dark, when he was hardly able to diſcover friend from foe.*]

Anſw. It's too true, that being all written for Peace, the Enemies of Peace have fought againſt them. *Nimis diu habitavit, anima mea inter oſores pacis.* But *pro captu Lectoris*, &c. All men take not the words of ſuch as he for Oracles. How much I have written and done for Peace, let others read and judge. I long laboured and begg'd for Peace in vain with ſuch as he defendeth. And it's admirable if this pittileſs Enemy of Sects and Errours can be for all the Sects and Errours that I have written againſt. Have I in the dark taken for foes by Errour the Atheiſts, the Infidels, the Sadducees, the Hobbiſts, the Quakers, the Ranters, the Papiſts, the Socinians, the Libertines called Antinomians, the Anabaptiſts, the Separatiſts, and Sects as Sects? Be of good comfort all: Theſe Prelatiſts that accuſe us for too dark and ſharp Writings againſt you, ſeem to tell you that they will more hate perſecuting or diſtreſſing you; Yes when they agree with themſelves.

His Prayer that I may have a more *honorable* opinion of Repentance he calls me to ſpeak to in the End.

§ 13. Whether good *Iſidore Peluſiota* were a man [*"very "easy to take any impreſſions, and upon falſe information chargeth "Cyril with proſecuting his private quarrells with* Neſtorius *"under pretence of zeal for the faith*] I leave all men to believe our Accuſer as they ſee cauſe. And the ſame I ſay of that which is ſo great a Controverſie among the Critical Hiſtorians, whether *Theodorets* Epiſtle to *Ioh. Ant.* againſt *Cyril* be Counterfeit, or

were written on a falſe rumour of *Cyrils* death. Their 5th General Council hath it. *Baronius* and *Binnius* ſay, ſome *Eutychian* knave hath corrupted the Acts of that Council. Muſt Councils be the Laws of all the world, and hath the Church and *Tradition* kept them no better, that we know not when we have them truly? Leave us then to the univerſal Laws of God.

§ 14. He ſaith truly that [*the Council of* Epheſus *was chiefly directed by the authority of* Cyril] *Anſ.* And ſo was that at *Trent* by the authority of the Pope And when he hath confuted the credible Hiſtory wich tells us of the womens and Courtiers hatred of *Neſtorius*, and proved that the Emperour and *Pulcheria* the Empreſs were but one, I will grant that the *authority of the Court directed not Cyril*; and that then and now Biſhops neither were nor are directed by the Civil powers.

§ 15. When I ſpake againſt *Neſtorius* his cruelty to Sectaries he asketh [*What Hereticaters were hotter than the Preſbyterians in* 1646. *The Inquiſition is not more ſevere than their ordinance againſt Hereſies, which they deſired ſhould be made felony and puniſhed by death &c.*].

Anſ. Reader Judge of the mans Credit as to ancient Hiſtory ſtill by his truth about the Preſent age. 1. The *Inquiſition* he ſaith, *is not more ſevere.* Do I need to anſwer this to any man of 50 years of age? It's Capable of no anſwer but what he will call by ſome name deſerved by his own.

2. I can find no ſuch ordinance: He ſaith It *was offered*? Is that all? And by whom? Was it the body of the Presbterians, or who?

3. What were the Hereſies named by them? Were they not down right Blaſphemy?

4. Who and how many were ever either tormented or put to death for Hereſie, from 1641 till 1660: I remember not one, ſave that *James Nayler* was impriſoned and whipt, and had his Tongue bored for blaſphemous Perſonating Chriſt, and that not by the Presbyterians.

5. Why are they ſo ordinarily reproached by the Prelatiſts for tolerating all Sects here in *England*?

6. What if all this had been true? What is it to me or any of my mind? I never had a hand in perſecuting one man, to my remembrance. How few can you name of all the Nonconformiſts now in *England*, that had any hand in the Severities you mention?

mention? I know not four in *England*, that I remember. And what's this to us any more than to you?

7. And was it well done, or ill? If well, why do you liken them to the Inquisition? Are you for it? If ill, why do you plead for it in others? Imitate it not if you dislike it.

For my part, as I am against all Sects as such, I am much more against the cruelty of any. I stick no more at the disgracing the Presbyterians sins, than yours: And I am readier to disgrace my own than either, if I can know them. I would cherish Errours no more than you; but I would not ruine or imprison even such of your selves as have too many. Heresie must have its proper cure. I thank God I had once an Orthodox agreeing Flock. But again I say, the Presbyterians were too impatient with Dissenters; and it's better have variety of Fish in the Pond, than by the Pikes to reduce them to special unity.

§ 16. He saith that *Nestorius consequentially denyed the God-Head of Christ*. p. 192. Next he hath found a contradiction in my words, that the *Emperor was weary of this stir*: And yet that [*Cyril did it to please the Court*]. These critical men can make their two hands enemies to each other. How came he waking to dream that this was a contradiction, when Historians tell us that the Women and Courtiers hated both *Chrysostome* and *Nestorius*? He implyeth that the *Emperor* and the *Court* were all one, or of one mind. But I am not bound to believe him, no more than of many other Emperours whose Wives kept up one party and they another. And I pray you why should we be confident that *Theodosius* 2. himself called an *Eutychian* by the heretica-ting Bishops, was not against *Nestorius* when he called that Council, & at first Condemned both him and *Cyril*, and after him alone? I did but recite the Historians words, and was that *forgetfulness*?

§ 17. His many words about this controversie with *Nestorius* are the most unworthy of any answer of all his Books: sometime he saith as I, as p. 193. [*It had been happy for the Church if the mysteries of our Religion had never been curiously disputed*: sometime he confesseth *that* Nestorius *spake the same thing with* Cyril, *that Christ had two natures in one Person*: ibid. *And that he expresseth himself one would think very orthodoxly*. p. 202. *But the Heretick dissembled and hid his sence*. And so this man after above 1000 years knew the mans mind to be contrary to his words: whereas it's palpable to him that readeth the Histories, that the

man

ſpake as bad at leaſt as *Neſtorius*. He oft confeſſeth (for he cannot deny it) [*that he doth frequently own but one nature*] p. 197. and 198. [*that there is but one nature of the word incarnate*] ſo p. 201. *&c.* But *Cyril* meant well, that is, by *Nature* he meant *Perſon*. And was not this *Eutychian* Speech as improper as *Neſtorius's* is? Is the *nature* and *Perſon* to be confounded? Did the Fathers ſpeak thus? If *Nature* put for *Perſon* be pardonable, why is it not pardonable to prefer a denomination a *proprietate vel forma*, to another? And thus you make *Cyril* to differ from the *Eutychians*, in their different meanings while they uſed the ſame words. If I had ſaid that Chriſt had but one *Nature* I ſhould have had a cenſure otherwiſe meaſured.

And though this man ſeem to deny it, I have cited many of his words in which he ſaith [*Duas naturas unitas aſſerimus: poſt unionem vero tanquam adempta jam in duas diſtinctione, unam eſſe credimus filii naturam, tanquam unius ſed inhumati & incarnati & adſucceſ. Nihil injuſti facimus dicentes, ex duabus naturis factum eſſe concurſum in unitatem: Poſt unionem vero non diſtinguimus naturas ab invicem.* But I have cited enough before.

The ſum and truth is, to judge no one but my ſelf, I muſt be blind by ignorance or partiality if I be not paſt doubt, 1. That unskilful explication was their difference. 2. That *Cyrils* words were *Eutychian*. 3. That *Neſtorius* words were orthodox in the main, but not ſufficiently yielding to a tolerable phraſe. 4. That they both meant the ſame thing. 5. That all their war was managed, 1. For want of diſtinguiſhing fully the *Abſtract* [*Deitatem*] and the *Concrete* [*Deum*] 2. For want of diſtinguiſhing [*Qui Deus*] from [*Qua Deus*] and a ſtrict formal expreſſion from a more laxe that's tolerable. And 3. For want of diſtinguiſhing [*diviſion*] from [*diſtinction*] of natures. 4. For want of explaining the various ſorts and ſenſes of [*Unity*] and [*Plurality.*] I cannot but know this to be true, though Mr. *M.* ſcorn me for it.

What [*I that underſtand not the language they wrote in to pretend to know better than the Council?*] *Anſ.* 1. So ſay the Papiſts: what? will you pretend to know more than the Church and Councils? If it be implicite faith that they are bringing us to, let them tell us which Councils we muſt ſo believe when they condemn each other? 2. I thought I could make ſhift to underſtand their language, though I be no critick in it: But if he know me

me better, I strive not for the reputation of Learning; not only *Baronius* and *Binnius*, and all the rest that he nameth that had no skill in Greek, but most of the Schoolmen, seem to me without it, far more Learned than he. I can tell him of Lads whose Learning I admire not, that shall vie with him in Languages Oriental and Occidental, and give him odds; And when he scorns *Derodons* distinctions, telling us it's *making two bad Groats by slitting a Sixpence*, &c. I leave him to glory in his Confusion: But I suspect the Fox that speaks against Tails is like enough to want one himself.

But when he hath shewed in all this History of *Nestorius*, *Cyril*, and the Council, little but that partiality which can talk confidently to the ignorant for any cause, without any shew of confuting *Derodons* justification of *Nestorius*, or my Conciliation, his craft or passion attempts to divert the Reader by the art of the times, and as if it must stop our Mouths from lamenting the sin of Hereticators, and misery of the Church thereby, he tells us how men in these times call themPapists that are none.

Ans. If it be ill done, why condemn you your self by defending those that did the like? If it was well done in Bishops Councils, why not in them? 2. But what's this to me, if it be not me that he means? If it be, 1. If you will read but the last part of my *Cathol. Theolog.* judge of the mans front. 2. It is none but those that are for a humane Soveraignty over all the Church on Earth that we judge Papists: And if you judge them not such, we will thank you to tell us what a Papist is in your own sense.

§ 18. His saying *p.* 225. that [*John Comes that gives a sad account of the Council is much to be suspected*, &c. doth but tell us that he would have your belief of History guided by the Interest of his Cause.

§ 19. As to his scorn against my translating the words [*the Scripture and Sacred*] which mean that imperial Scripture, I did think a litteral Translation could not have been judged a misunderstanding or mistranslation: Why may they not be called in *English* what they are called in *Greek*? And he had a strong imagination if he thought that *Haumers* Translation of *Eusebius*, &c. afforded me such materials as these.

§ 20. His conclusion of some that scorn to preach by the *Licence* of the Government I before mentioned. The Truth and

 ministerial

miniſterial Honeſty of it, is much like as if Thouſands ſhould petition the Biſhop, that their ſick families may have licenſed Phyſicians, and he rejecteth all their Petitions, and prevaileth with the Parliament to do the like: At laſt the King pitieth them, and licenſeth the Phyſicians, and the Biſhop and his Clergy are offended, and get it revoked, and the Phyſicians practiſe at their peril without licenſe: And our credible Hiſtorian ſhould record it, that they ſcorned to practiſe as licenſed by the Government, even while ſtill they make all the Friends they can to the Clergy to be licenſed, and are not able to prevail. But the ages that knew not them and us, that are to come, may poſſibly believe theſe men as they believe their Predeceſſors.

§21. To conclude, Reader, if now thou have any ſenſe of Chriſtian Intereſt, Unity and Love, judge of the whole caſe impartially, and begin with notorious matter of fact.

1. We find at this day a great Body of Chriſtians, called *Neſtorians*, inhabiting the Countries of *Babylon*, *Aſſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Parthia*, and *Media*, yea, ſpread Northerly to *Cataya*, and Southerly to *India*; abundance of them even in *Tartary*, ſaith *Paulus Venet.* See *Brierwood* p. 139. And we find that they are by the Weſtern Churches, if not the *Greeks*, called Hereticks, and at the eaſieſt Schiſmaticks. And yet as thoſe very Friars that have lived among them ſay, they are commonly free from any ſuch Opinions as are charged on them, but only honour the name of *Neſtorius*, and condemned the Councils that condemned him. This Mr. *M.* nor no Prelate will deny that retaineth humanity.

2. We find that this woful fraction hath continued about one Thouſand two Hundred and thirty Years.

3. We are put to enquire what was and is the cauſe; and we find that on both ſides it is the Biſhops and their Clergy that now continue it, and it was Patriarchs and their Biſhops that at firſt cauſed it.

4. We enquire how they did it: And Mr. *Morrice* confeſſeth that it began in a diſpute between the two Patriarchs (whether the Virgin *Mary* was to be called *The Mother of God*, or rather *The Mother of Jeſus Chriſt who is God and Man*: and that on this occaſion *Cyril* charged *Neſtorius*, as making Chriſt to be two Perſons, and he himſelf ſaid Chriſt incarnate had but *one Nature*, but had no more skill in ſpeaking, than by *one Nature* to mean

mean *one Person*, (though *Derodon* labour to prove that he meant worse,) that *Nestorius* professed two Natures in one Person. And Mr. *M.* saith, *Nestorius* when he spake well meant ill, and *Cyril* when he spake ill meant well. And upon this a General Council itself is first divided about them, even to blows: and after by the importunity of *Cyril*'s party, *Nestorius* is banished, and the Bishops divided, some for one, and some for another to this day. Another Council is called at *Calcedon*, and confirmeth the Condemnation, and the *Nestorian* Bishops condemn that Council, and for many Ages the Bishops were divided also about that, one part condemning it, and the other subscribing to it, and honouring it. Judge now what these Bishops have done to Christian Religion and the Church of Christ, and continue to do: And if you dare join with our Canoneers in making the guilt your own, by justifying such dismal work; the further you go, the more of it you have to justifie, till your Souls have guilt and load enough.

Honest Dr. *Moore* charged with Nestorianism, is fain to accuse *Nestorius* out of his Enemies words to clear himself. That he owned not a [*Physical Union of Natures*] is an ambiguous, unsafe word: A Physical Union seems to signifie one φύσις which is not to be said. He never denied a personal or Hypostatical Union. And if he had (as he did not) opposed the word *Hypostasis*, so did *Hierom* that was no Heretick, and many more for a long time.

I suppose Mr. *M.* is not more zealous against Nestorianism than the Hereticating Church of *Rome* is: And how great they really thought the *Nestorian* Heresie, the story which I mention of *P. Hormisda* tells you, which I will repeat. [There arose a controversie whether it might be said that [*One of the Trinity was crucified,*] Pope *Hormisda* said [*No*] because they that were for it were suspected to be *Eutychians*: The *Nestorians* laid hold on this, and said, [*Then we may not say that* Mary *was the Parent of one of the Trinity.*] This was a hard case: *Justinian* sent to Pope *John* about it. His infallibility and *Hormisda*'s were contrary: he and his Council say that we may say, that [*One of the Trinity was crucified.*] Hereupon *Baronius* and *Binnius* give us a useful note, [*Ita mutatis hostibus arma mutari necesse fuit.*] What should the World do if we had not had such a Judge of Controversies, I hope Mr. *M.* will not be so heretical, or schismatical,

as to say that either of these Popes erred against an Article of Faith: But will rather recant his Accusation of *Nestorius*, and number this with *Things Indifferent*, which the Church hath power to change at her pleasure.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Council of Ephesus 2d.

§ 1. THat our Historian may justifie the Dividers he makes himself a Party, and by downright mistake against both saith, 1. That *Nestorius fell into Blasphemy, denying Christ to be true God.* 2. And that *Eutyches denied Christ to be true Man.*] This is our Reformer of History; when both of them professed Christ to be true God, and true man. I doubt not but the Man can write another Book to justifie this; for what is it that some cannot talk for? Yea, he is at it again, *p.* 230. that *Eutyches* held Christ not to be *true Man.*

§ 2. He confesseth again that *Cyril* affirmeth but *one Nature*, and meant but *one Person*, and that *Eutyches* used the same words, but saith, *sure they cannot be so mad as to fall out so violently when they say the same thing & words.* Flavian *could not be so foolish or so wicked*, &c. *Ans.* I justifie not the words of *Eutyches* or *Cyril*; but if I have great reason to believe, that as he confesseth *Cyril* so gross as to use φύσις for ὑπόστασις, so *Eutyches* who had far less Learning than *Cyril*, did word amiss the conceptions, which were the same with *Cyrils*, I leave it to this mild Censurer to call them *Fools*, and *mad*, and *wicked.* It's taken for railing in me to blame them.

§ 3. He saith [*Cyril never said there were two Natures in Christ before the Union.* *Ans.* I have twice cited his words: Find a true difference between them and those of *Eutyches* if you can. I believe they both means better than they spake.

§ 4. But the Spirit of detraction useth to fetch Accusations from *Hearts*, & *Thoughts*, and *secret Actions*, and so doth he against *Eutyches*; and he saith *this hath been done of late times, To deliver that in select Meetings, which they will not in publick promiscuous Assemblies: as evil Spirits are under restraint in consecrated places.*

Ans.

Anſ. Therefore it is that the Nonconformiſts have 20 or 19 years ſo earneſtly beg'd for leave to preach in publick conſecrated places to promiſcuous Aſſemblies, that they might be out of ſuſpicion, but could never obtain it of this ſort of Maſters. *Ex ore tuo*--- Thus they that caſt the ſtone at others oft find it hit themſelves. Mr. *Edwards Gangrena* is here commended to thoſe that are for Toleration. As if all differences were equally intolerable or tolerable: And he that ſaith [*Tolerate not thoſe that preach Blaſphemy or intolerable errour*,] ſaid no worſe than he that ſaith [*Silence Two Thouſand Preachers, unleſs they will Profeſs, Promiſe, and Swear, and do all that is (oft deſcribed) impoſed on them.*

§ 5. In his Narrative he is no more tender of the honour of Biſhops it ſeems than I am, nor ſo much of Emperours; for when he had ſaid the Emperour [*was too much addicted to this kind of Vermine* (Eunuchs) *and ſhews his bitterneſs againſt* Flavian, he ſaith that *the Letters which called this Council ſuggeſted ſufficiently what it was to do, and that their buſineſs was to condemn a Biſhop the Emperour did not care for, though without any juſt ground, nay, for his honeſty.*

I deny none of this: But were the Biſhops of the Catholick Church in a good caſe then, that, when they knew before that they were called to ſuch a work as this, would meet in a General Council and do it? No; he accuſeth them himſelf, I need not do it.

The Emperour, he ſaith, *knew how to chooſe Biſhops*, (and yet his Summons was general to all to come,) and the *Preſident, if half be true that is ſaid of him*, (and if that be a doubt, how credible are your Hiſtorians?) *was one of the moſt wicked, profligate Wretches in the World*,] yet he was one of the Patriarchs, and all the Council Biſhops, and till they met, were not thus accuſed. You ſee the man is a far greater railer than I even againſt Biſhops: But it is but againſt thoſe that are againſt his Intereſt and ſide.

§ 6. He deſcribes thoſe Biſhops as uſing violence, forgetting that it is it his Party truſteth to continually: juſt with the front as *Baronius* and *Binnius*, and many other Papiſts, juſtifie *Martin* for being againſt putting Hereticks to death, and condemn *Ithacius*, while their Kingdom is upheld by that which they condemn, and worſe, even the burning of true Chriſtians as Hereticks, and it's Heretical with them to imitate *Martin*, juſt as

thoſe

those *Matth.* 23. Your Fathers killed the Prophets, and you build their Sepulchers, and say if we had lived in the days of our Fathers, we would not, *&c.*

§ 7. But in the passage I find our Historian in a more charitable mood to this *Ephesine* Council of Bishops than his Brethren, [*How bad soever* Dioscorus *and this Council were, yet they are in my judgment to be looked on rather as favourers of Heresie than Hereticks, they followed the meaning I believe as well as the Words of* Cyril.] *Ans.* And now I may hope I am Orthodox and Charitable when I have no less than his Judgment to justifie mine. And *Anatolius* justifieth us both.

§ 8. But Sir, now you are in a good Mood, will you consider,

1. Whether those Bishops and Councils that set the Christian World in that Flame that burneth dreadfully to this day, after above 1200 Years, were not guilty at least of a peccadillo or venial sin.

2. Whether they are imitable.

3. Whether this General Council had a supream Legislative and Judicial power over all the Church on Earth, which all must obey and none must appeal from.

No: saith Bishop *Gunning, It was a meeting of violent Robbers.*

Ans. But it was a General Council: which it seems then may be such.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the 4th *General Council at* Calcedon.

§ 1. HE begins his Chapter comically, and notably derideth me for saying *Pulcheria* was the same that before at *Ephesus* had set the Bishops against *Nestorius.* Is this so ridiculous? It's well known that Historians make her very powerful with her Brother: she chose his Wife *Eudocia,* (They were long of two minds.) It's no wonder that she that got him condemned at *Ephesus,* got the the same further done at *Calcedon,* when she was Empress her self, having made *Martian* Emperour, and her nominal Husband, (for they were not conjugally to know each other.) Is there any thing in this that deserveth the stage? Though *Theodosius* be reproached by Popish Historians as

as an Eutychian, or a favourer of them, if credible honeſt *Socrates* may be believed, there have been few ſuch Princes in the World, (for Piety, his Houſe was a Church; for Patience, never ſeen angry; for Compaſſion, would never let a man die for Treaſon againſt himſelf.) But his Siſter (a Woman eminent for Wit and Piety) was thought to govern him very much, & ſpecially in the ſeverities againſt *Neſtorius*. *Evagrius* who bitterly reproacheth *Neſtorius*, tells us of ſome writings of his that fell into his hand, in which he ſaith, that the Emperour was his friend, and would not ſign his baniſhment, and laies the cruelties that he underwent on his Officer: and conſidering the caſe of a ſuffering man, I ſee nothing unſeemly in the Letter to him, which *Evagrius* chargeth with contempt.

§ 2. My wiſh for the Churches Peace, that the unskilful words of *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches* had been ſilenced by neglect, rather than the flame blown up by honouring them with two General Councils diſputation, doth with this Gentleman deſerve this Replication, [*He cannot be more violent and outragious, more bitter and malicious under all the provocations imaginable, than he is under that neglect which himſelf preſcribeth for the cure.*] *Anſ.* If this be a true accuſer, he can prove what he ſaith: It's eaſie to ſay this of any man: But if a man that hath a cholerick Stomack ſhall ſwear that there was Aloes in his Phyſick, his word is no proof. Theſe are the men into whoſe hands we are by Gods permiſſion falln, while we are caſt out, judged to ſilence, priſons, & beggary, if we do but repeat the words of the Laws and Canons, and in 17 Years time when moſt that they turned out are dead, if the reſt at their own urgent demand do but tell them what they judge unlawful, and anſwer thoſe that accuſe them, they are *outragious, violent, bitter,* and *malicious*. As if one that wounds me ſhould ſue me for ſaying, *You hurt me*. It's violence and an unpeaceableneſs to feel, but none at all in them to *ſtrike* or to *deſtroy*. We will give you many thanks if you will hurt us no more than we do you.

§ 3. I ſaid that *one skilful healing man that could explicate ambiguous words, and perſuade men to Love and Peace, till they underſtood each other, had more befriended Truth, Piety, and the Church, than the hereticating Councils did.*] And *why*, ſaith he, *may not that skilful man ſhew his skill in Councils, as well as elſe where?*

Anſ. Who denieth it? But the queſtion is, how he ſhall be heard

heard and prevail? I told you that here *One man in one sentence did so*, by differencing between *mental distinguishing* and *dividing*; even *Basil* of *Seleucia*, saying, [*Cognoscimus duas naturas, non dividimus; neque divisas, neque confusas dicimus.*] This was true and plain enough, to have ended all the quarrel: But who laid hold on it, or did improve it? What the better was *Nazianzen* for speaking well in the Council at *Constantinople*? Or *Chrysostome* for any thing he could say to the Bishops for himself? I hope few of all that great number of Councils that were *Arian*, *Semiarian*, *Eutychian*, *Monothelites*, for Images, *&c.* were so bad as to have never a Bishop among them that could or would speak right: But did they prevail? In the very Council at *Trent* were more good Speeches than did prevail; and if *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Zuinglius*, and such others, had not done more good singly by Writing and Preaching, than *Dudithius* could do at *Trent*, or any of them at *Wormes*, or *Ratisbone*, &c. there had been little done. What good did *Philpot* do in the Convocation? Some say one *Paphnutius* turned the Inclination of the first *Nicene* Council for good; But that hearing temper was too short or rare.

§ 4. Next he tells us, that [*in many late Disputes of Justification*, &c. *we find not that any of these healing men were able to reconcile Parties any more than the Councils of old.*]

Answ. 1. If that were true, it's also true, that they have not made so great and many Parties as Councils did. We have not cast the world into so many Nations of *Jacobites*, *Nestorians*, and other Sects.

Answ. 2. Through God's mercy it is much better than such Historians would make men believe. Dr. *Heylin* tells us what work the *Arminian* Controversie made between Bishop *Laud*'s Party, and the Parliaments and Abbots Party, as if it had set us all by the Ears. It is not so now: One of your Brethren lately tells us, how that Controversie is quieted: What Contention do you hear of among the Nonconformists about it? No man hath so much as writ a line, that I know of, against my Conciliation in my *Cathol. Theology*. How little stir doth the *Antinomian* Controversie make? If one or two men do vent their displeasure about any of these, we neglect it, and it is presently forgotten. I hear sometime that called Arminianism hotly preached in the Parish Churches: It provoketh not me, and I take no notice

notice of it. I (rarely) hear some preach against the *Arminians*: I take no notice of it, and there it dies: Whereas if one should write Challenges and Accusations to the Preachers, we might make work enough for all the Country. I never yet met with many such, but if you make not a War of it, and engage them by opposition, they grow weary themselves, and grow into unobserv'd neglect or contempt. Most of the spreading Errours and Contentions among us have come by the Bellows of too strong or imprudent Opposition or Disputes. I hear of no considerable Doctrinal Strivings among all the Nonconformists now in *England*. One Ignorant Uncalled Fellow is lately crept into *London*, and wrote proud Challenges for Antinomianism, and none answered him, and he is contemned, and hath no Second that I hear of.

§ 5. Though he say [*he is weary, yet he must not pass by*, that when I mention *Socrates* his most high praise of *Theodosius* (living under him) and the miracles which he saith God wrought for him; I say, *if this be true, God owned his Moderation by Miracles, notwithstanding his favouring the* Eutychians, *more than he did any ways of violence.*] And here the man hath found me in Contradiction, and saith, [*Those miracles could not countenance the* Eutychian *cause that was after.* 2. *That the* Eutychians *were the most violent men.* Such Contradictions he and *L'Estrange* find in my Writings.

Ans. But, 1. Is it true that I said those miracles countenanced the *Eutychian* Cause? I said only that *God owned* the *Moderation* (not the *Eutychian* Opinion) of a man called an *Eutychian* by the Hereticators, notwithstanding his favouring the *Eutychians*. He was a man that studied the reconciliation of the contending Bishops, and was moderate towards all, but persuaded that the major Vote of the Bishops being against *Nestorius*, and for *Cyril*, and *Dioscorus*, it tended to peace to take that side. His Moderation was the same before the stir with *Eutyches* as after. I only said that God by miracles owned that mans moderation, who is charged with after favouring the *Eutychians*.

2. And what I spake of Moderation opposite to violence, in way of suppressing Hereticks, he feigneth me to speak it as opposite to violence in the *Persons suppressed*: I spake of *Violence* in the Prince as agent, and he feigneth me to speak of Violence in the parties that he dealt with. He may find matter at this rate

to write greater Volums against any man. I read of none of the Heresies then contended about, *Nestorian* or *Eutychian*, but the accused Bishops were violent for them: But though they were all violent, yet if the question were, whether the Emperour should use violence or Moderation against them, I may say, that God owneth more the way of Moderation.

§ 6. *P.* 246. he saith [*At* Ephesus Eustathius *was kikt to death, and all those that durst defend him were threatned to be served in like manner.*] *Ans.* Of this before: His memory failed him: It was not *Eustathius* but *Flavianus*. 2. Yet he after excuseth *Dioscorus* from Heresie; more Bishops than were Hereticks were violent.

§ 7. As to his Reflection, ["*It may be he thinks the Emperour took a particular Delight in that kind of cruelty, and that "he had rather one should be kickt to death, than that he should be "hanged or beheaded; which would not be much to the credit of his "Moderation: And to say the truth, his Letter to* Valentinian "*discovers a strange kind of Spirit; for there he justifies the proceedings of the* Eutychians *at* Ephesus, *and saies that all things "were carried on with much freedom and perfect Truth, and* Flavian *found guilty of Innovating in Religion. This is but an ill sign "that Mr.* B. *is a hater of false History, when he lets this pass unreproved.*

Ans. 1. Had I reproved such an Emperour, I might have expected that some of you would have published me an Enemy to Kings.

Ans. 2. Rather Sir, you and I should hence gather, that all men must have pardon and forbearance, and that for want of that, the names of Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites, Greeks, Papists, Protestants, Lutheranes, Calvinists, Prelatists, and Presbyterians, *&c.* have almost swallowed up the Name, much more the Love of Christians.

Ans. 3. May it not consist with modesty and the *hatred* of *false History*, to believe the high praises of this Emperour, published by one that knew him in so pious and credible words as *Socrates* speaks, as I before told you, giving him (to me) a more credible Canonization than the Pope could have done, as a *man of eminent holiness, wonderful Clemency, that would not let a Traitor go out of the Gates towards the place of Execution; and when he was moved to any Execution, answered, he had rather*,

were

were he able, restore the Dead to Life: excelling all the Clergy in meekness, and never seen angry. May not I who am branded for a railer by meek Prelatists, be tolerated to think charitably of such an Emperour, and to wish that the world had many more such.

Anſ. 4. Judges are taken for unjust if they will not hear both sides speak. And why should not I regard the words of such an Emperour, as well as of one half the Bishops against the other?

Anſ. 5. Surely Modesty requireth me to think that the Emperour was much more capable of knowing the truth of the acts of his own Subjects, when his Servants present gave him an account of them, than I am 1200 Years after: And so good a man would not willingly lye.

Anſ. 6. Therefore my own Conclusion is, God is true and all men are Lyars, that is, untrusty: and that *Eudocia* and his Courtiers had much power with him for *Dioscorus* against *Flavian*, as *Pulcheria* had against *Nestorius*; but that it was the Peace and Concord of the Bishops which he most studied, and thought that it lay in going with the major part. And I believe things were bad on both sides, and worse than the Emperour thought with the Eutychian Bishops, and worse than others say with their Adversaries; and that the Emperour, though fallible, was as *Socrates* saith, beyond all the Clergie.

But here I see that I am blamed for not railing against a meek and pious Emperour, and as a Railer for lamenting the sins of the Clergie.

§ 8. About the Council of *Calcedon* he accuseth me in general, as [*disingeniously mincing the Acts, and using all the foul play possible.*

Easily said: And what's the proof? Why, 1. Leave out that *they were violently beaten to it.*

Anſ. The Reader may see that this is false: I mention it oft, *pag.* 101. [*The Bishops answered, that they did it against their Wills, being under fear: Condemnation and banishment was threatned, Souldiers were there with Clubs and Swords.*] Shall I believe this man against such as *Socrates*, of things done 1200 Years ago, that will face me down with such untruths about my own yet visible Writings?

2. But is it falshood to omit what is said in such and so many Volumns? May not the Reader there see it? Do I contradict it?

Must I write many Folio's or nothing? I refer all Readers to the Acts.

§ 9. But he saith, [*It would go near to excuse their Compliance with a merciful man.*]

Ans. I confess such are not so bad as the Clergy-men, that will sin for meer Preferment, and will write against, and revile, and call for Execution on those that will not do as they. But if Nonconformists after 19 Years Ejection and Reproach, and Sufferings by more than Threats, should at last surrender to heinous sin, can he think it would excuse their Compliance, when Christ saith, *Luk.* 14 33. *He that forsaketh not all that he hath cannot be my Disciple*? If he think Martyrdom a work of Supererogation, he is dangerously mistaken. And he that to day thinks *Threatning* and *Danger* an *Excuse for his sin*, may to morrow think Poverty, and the next day the desire of Preferment an excuse.

§ 10. *Dioscorus* and the *Eutychians* holding close to the Council of *Nice*, as sufficient, as a Test of the Orthodox, to which nothing was to be added, in reciting this he hath found my Ignorance in translating [*retractat*] by [*retract.*] Is not the English word of the same sence with the Latine? If not, and I be ignorant in English too, what wrong is that to any Bishop?

§ 11. When he had charged *Nonsence* and *Confusion* on that which he understood not, and mentioned *Eusib. Doril.* giving the Lye to *Eutyches*, he confesseth that the thing was true.

§ 12. *P.* 253. He saith, *When the giddy rabble of Monks with Swords and staves, like* Bedlams *broke loose, run upon them---- I should rather pity them than insult.*

Ans. If the History be an insulting, his own credited Historians insult by recording it. If noting it as a fault be insulting, then a motion to Repentance is insulting, and if he would have us pity them for their sin, and not only for their suffering, that is insulting too: But to own their sin, and draw men to imitate them, shall be none of my Compassion.

He minds me of *Peters* Denial, and the Disciples forsaking Christ. Alas! he is not a man that is not sensible of Humane frailty? But is it not therefore to be blamed? Why doth Scripture mention it, but that we may avoid the like? Is it to tempt others to the like? Did Christ insult when he said to *Peter*, *Get thee behind me Satan*, &c.

§ 13. He next falls into his familiar strain, to carry that *ex Cathedra*,

Cathedra, by sentence, which he cannot do by proof, and saith, [*When I venture on Observations it's an even lay that I am out.*] *Ans.* That is, I am out of the way of his Magistry, Preconceipt and Interest.

It is my Conciliatory words that the peaceable man is angry at, *viz.* [*That this doleful, Contentious, Anathematizing, and ruining of each other, was about the sense of ambiguous words, and they were both of one mind in the matter and knew it not.*] He cannot but confess, that my judgment of them is softer than theirs that hereticate each other. And *Derodon* hath fully proved that this Council when they condemned *Nestorius*, were of his Judgment in the whole matter, and said but the same as he.

§ 14. As to his telling me, that *Eutyches* denied Christ to be truly and properly man, I will no more believe him, than if he had said *Cyril* did so.

§ 15. But he saith, the *Monothelites were the genuine Disciples of* Eutyches. They were of his mind in that Consequence: And such another Controversie it was. And how much greater errour against our Belief of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, have I proved *e. g.* to be, in your Dr. *Sherlocks* Book; And yet I hope he meant better than he spake.

§ 16. P. 255. He confesseth of one Party what I said, *viz.* [" *Of* Dioscorus *and* Flavian, *I am apt to believe they were much* " *of the same Opinion as to the point in controversie, and knew it* " *well enough; which was the only cause why* Dioscorus *with his* " *party of Bishops and Monks, would not endure to come to any De-* " *bate of the matter, for fear it would appear that they all agreed,* " *and then there would have been no pretence to condemn* Flavian, " *which was the Design, if not of the Emperour, yet at least of those* " *that governed him.*]

Ans. Fie Dr. will you thus abuse so many Orthodox Bishops? And almost condemn your vindicating Book? And harden me in my Errour? But I am much of your mind, and if one of us err, so doth the other.

§ 17. And I like his Ingenuity, saying *Anatolius* confesseth in Council, that *Dioscorus was not condemned for Heresie but Tyranny, and no man contradicted him. Ans.* Not in answer to those words, but the Accusations of many contradicted him before.

§ 18. That they mean one thing by their various expressions I have

I have fully proved, and he no whit confuteth: That the *Eutychians* acknowledged no distinct *Properties*, and *Nestorius* owned an Unity but in *Dignity* and *Title* only, are his flat slanders, to be no way proved but by their Adversaries accusations. The very words I named even now, [*Divino, mirabili, sublimi nexu.*] and many clearer, shew it of *Nestorius*. And I wish him to take heed himself how he defineth the Hypostatical Union, lest the next General Council (if ever there be one) make him an Heretick.

Can he believe that the great number of *Eutychian* Bishops were so mad, as not to know that Christs Mortality, possibility, material Quantity, Shape, *&c.* were the properties of Christs Humanity and not his Deity? But some Men can believe any thing well or ill, reasonable or unreasonable, as Interest and affection lead them.

§ 19. He saith, that [*If it were a faction that denied this, it was a strong one, and never was opposed by any Person before Mr.* Baxter.

Ans. I heard you were a young man; but if you be not above one Hundred Years old, your reading cannot be great enough to excuse this confidence from such temerity as rendereth you the less credible. How many Thousand Books be they which you or I never read? How know you that none of them all oppose it? But would you persuade the Reader that I call it a Faction, to believe your sence of these Councils? Factious men are forwardest to judge others Hereticks without cause; and all that I say is, that *Though such deny my Assertion it is true*: Doth it follow that I take all for *factious* that deny it? If I had said, [*Though Papists deny it,*] that had not been all one as to say, [*All are Papists that deny it.*]

2. But did never any person oppose it? 1. I named you *David Derodon* before, who though he largely labour to prove *Cyril* an *Eutychian* in words and sence, and that by φύσις he did mean *Natura*, and not *Persona*, yet as to *Nestorius* he copiously proveth, that the Council of *Calcedon* was just of his Mind, and condemned him for want of Understanding him. Though you have not seen that Book of *Derodons*, I have, and you should not judge of what you never saw.

2. *Luther de Conciliis* first accuseth *Nestorius* as a Heretick, denying Christ's Godhead, or holding two Persons; And presently

ly retracts it, and confesseth he was seduced by believing the Papists, but (though he had not read much of the Councils, but what he had gathered out of the *Tripartite* and such Historians) yet he gathered from the Passages of the History, that the difference lay only in words, which he openeth at large, and yet turns it sharply against *Nestorius*, for thinking that we may not speak of Christs Godhead or Manhood by communicated names or Attributes, and greatly rejoiceth that this serveth his turn in his Opinion about Consubstantiation and Sacramental words.

Because I will leave nothing in doubt with you, but whether *Luther* was before my days, and lest you say again that I cite Books which I see not, I will give you some of his words, beginning earlier, (not translating lest I have not skill enough) but they are so like mine, that I doubt you will be no Lutherane.

De Concil. pag. 175. *Ecclesiæ Romana & C. P. ambitiose rixatæ sunt de re nihili, vanissimis & nugacissimis naniis donec tandem utraque horribiliter vastata & deleta est.--- Illa omnia libentius recito, ut videat prudens Lector quomodo ex tam celebri Synodo Constantinopolitana, seu ex fonte manaverint semina maximarum Confusionum, propterea quod ibi Episcopus Ecclesiæ ut Patriarcha fuerat Præfectus.---* p. 178. *Quam horribilia certamina & contentiones moverunt hi duo Episcopi de primatu: ut facile judicari posset Spiritum sanctum non esse authorem hujus Instituti: Alia habet Episcopus longe potiora quæ agat, quam sunt hi pueriles & inepti ludi--- Præmonemur quod Concilia prorsus nihil novi debent commiscri vel tradere.*

De Concil. Ephes. p. 180, 181. *Excesserant jam è vivis sancti Patres, & illi optimi Episcopi, S. Ambrosius, S. Martinus, S. Hieronymus, S. Augustinus (qui eo ipso anno quo Synodus coacta est mortuus est) S. Hilarius, S. Eusebius & similes; eorumque loco prorsus dissimiles patres suborti fuerant. Ita ut Imperator Theodosius amplius eligi Episcopum C. P. ex Sacerdotibus vel Clericis Civitatis C. P. nollet: hanc ob causam quod plerumque essent superbi, ambitiosi, morosi, qui movere certamina, & tumultus in Ecclesiis plerumque tolerent.----* p. 182. *Cum jam videret Nestorius tantas turbas ortas ex corrupteta multiplici, gemens prorupit in hæc verba,* Tollamus è medio omnes ambiguitates quæ primum præbuerunt occasiones istis certaminibus, & fateamur palam Mariam recte vocari Matrem Dei, *Sed nihil profecit Nestorius, ne tunc quidem*

cum

cum revocaret suum errorem; sed voce publica conde mnatus, ex orbe Imperii universo ejectus & explosus est: Quanquam illi duo Episcopi Antiochenus & Alexandrinus, etiam post Concilium cum rediissent in suas Ecclesias, se ipsi mutuis convitiis lacerabant, & omnibus diris devovebant: Etsi postea res ad placidum exitum deducta est: Quanquam tamen dolendum hoc, & effusis lachrymis deplorandum in Ecclesia est, tam præstantes viros adeo indulsisse suis affectibus, ut instar mulierum aut puerorum ineptissime inter se rixarentur. Omnino fuisset eis opus aliquo Constantino, qui ipsorum jurgia & contentiosa scripta etiam conjecisset in ignem.--- p. 184. Mentioning the false accusations of *Nestorius*, making two Persons, *&c.* [*Atque adeo intricata & confusa sunt quæ scribunt, ut existimem ne quidem ipsos scire in hunc usque diem, quid & propter quas causas damnaverint Nestorium. Hoc inde conjicito. Fatentur credidisse Nestorium quod Christus sit Deus & Homo--- exhis certum est quod Nestorius non crediderit Christum esse purum hominem.--- Constat Nestorium non duos sed unum Christum credidisse, id quod ipsorum verba testantur---ideoque non potuit credere esse duas personas. Nec ullibi reperitur in historiis quod Nestorius unum Christum crediderit habere duas personas, nisi quod Pontifices & eorum historiæ ita argutantur. Apparet Papam & scriptores Pontificios hæc verba contra Nestorium calumniose & veteratorie finxisse, quod Christum pro puro homine & non pro Deo, & quod unum Christum pro duabus personis vel gemino Christo habuerit.--- Nestorius fuit homo inflatus tumens Pharisaico fastu, & indoctus; Et cum subito esset evectus ad supremum fastigium Ecclesiæ, adeo ut haberetur pro summo Pontifice, Patriarcha, somniabat se unum antecellere doctrina & eruditione omnes homines in toto genere humano, nec sibi opus esse lectione librorum qui erant scripti à Majoribus aut aliis, nec in explicatione magnaram rerum retinendos esse modos loquendi antiquitus receptos in Ecclesia puriore; sed quia & voce valebat, & ex temporali facundia volebat esse* αὐτοδίδακτος, *Doctor vel Magister, & formas loquendi quibus ipse uteretur tantum recipiendas esse in Ecclesia, non alias. Et tali fastu armatus adoriebatur illum articulum. Maria est mater Dei, aut genetrix Dei; Ibi vicissim Episcopos in adversa parte invenit perinde inflatos, quibus vehementer displicebat Nestorii fastus, in primis Cyrillum Alexandrinum: quia tunc nullus erat Augustinus aut Ambrosius.*---p. 189. *Hinc manifestum est, quod Nestorius ut homo imprudens & vanissima persuasione adductus, loquatur quidem bono zelo de Christo: sed*

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*ex mera insciti*a *non intelligat quid & quomodo loquatur.*--- p. 192. *Non est Nestorii error quod Christum credit tantum esse purum hominem, nec in duas personas eum dirimi; sed duas naturas Deum & hominem in una persona uniri fatetur: sed communicationem idiomatum non vult concedere. Objiciat autem hic aliquis, Nestorium insidiose confessum esse, quod Christus Deus sit & una persona. Resp. Quod non: Tam ingeniosus enim & industrius non fuit, sed serio ita judicavit.--- Ad hæc accessit aliorum Episcoporum insolentia, qui non cogitaverunt quomodo sananda essent talia vulnera, sed multo magis irritandis & refricandis causam dederunt. Vide cætera.*

P. 202. De Concil. Calcedon. *Adeo indulgebant sancti Patres mutuis odiis & dissensionibus ut alter non facile vellet alteri cedere*--- shewing the uncertainty of the Histories of this Council, and the Lies of the Papists not to be trusted. *Jam divina qua ratione ego ero salvandus, qui nec ipsum Concilium assequor, nec causam Concilii satis perspicio.* p. 205. *Quod Eutyches non tantum unam in Christo naturam esse statuat, ostendunt Papistarum Verba, qui dicunt Eutychen concessisse in Christo duas naturas,* viz. *Divinitatem & Humanitatem, quæ à Divinitate est assumpta---Sed quid Eutyches voluerit quod postea in Christo tantum Divina natura manserit, deserta humana, ibi prorsus sunt muti; & re nondum certo cognitâ dicunt, statuisse Eutychen quoad in Christo duæ naturæ, & tamen non duæ sed una natura sit: Ita postea historiæ fiunt incertæ & obscuræ, ut nemo possit intelligere quid Eutyches senserit, aut quid Pontificiæ historiæ sentiant. Amittimus hisce ambagibus concilium una cum causis propter quas convocatum est.---Ego meas conjecturas recitabo: si rem assequor, bene; si non, non propterea labefactabitur fides Christiana. Eutychis opinio (sicut & Nestorii) errat circa idiomata, quamvis alio modo. Nestorius non vult idiomata humanitatis tribuere Divinitati in Christo:---Contra Eutyches non vult idiomata divinitatis tribuere humanitati, etiamsi & ipse firmiter & mordicus retineat Christum esse verum Deum & hominem. Ut si dicerem in Concione publica, Verbum filium Dei esse conditorem Cœli & Terræ æqualem Patri ab æterno---Et hoc Verbum, illum filium Dei esse verum hominem: Hoc concedit mihi Eutyches nihil dubitans. Jam si porro dicam, Quod ille homo Christus sit conditor cœli & terræ, hoc offendit Eutychen, qui putat prorsus esse absurdum dicere,* Homo creat cœlum & terram.---- P. 210. *Ibi vides quod idiomata facili occasione homines non præmonitos offendant & perturbent. Hic erat subveniendum teneris Conscientiis fraterna, amica & salutari admo-*

nitione, nec superbissimi errantes abjiciendi essent. Utinam meo judicio non respondeat eventus: sed vereor profecto aliquos hæreticos in novissimo die fieri judices; & illos ipsos Episcopos penes quos fuit judicandi potestas, in æternum damnatos, ni Deus est mirabilis & incomprehensibilis in suis judiciis; nisi quod scimus eum esse propitium humilibus & insensissimum superbis. Et præsertim in Concilius & Ecclesiis nihil erat agendum zelo vel invidia, vel superbia, quia Deus non potest ferre.

§ 20. Readers, you see what tedious work some men can make us: Many are scandalized, as if we gave them false History, if we do not thus confute them; and if we do, we tire our selves and you. If I should cite you many more thus to confute his falshood, that *never person before me opposed that Faction*, you would be weary of it.

§ 21. Yet now my hand is in, you shall see further how much *Luther* was for the same that I have written. [*Qui volet poterit ulterius legere acta Concilii, privata opera. Ego ad tædium & nauseam usq; legi ista; ejusmodi Chaos ceremoniarum & confusionum est ibi, ut videatur recte judicasse Greg. Naz. qui Synodis eruditioribus & sedatioribus interfuit,--- & scribit* [*Sic affectus sum si dicenda est veritas, ut malim omnes Episcoporum conventus vitare, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, aut qui magis tolleret mala quam augeret. Nam cupiditas contentionis & principatus, & æmulatio vincunt rationem. Ut profecto miror quod propter hæc verba non dudum eum excommunicaverunt ut atrocissimum hæreticum. Sed quid sit quod dicit in Synodis Episcopos certasse ambitione, superbia, φιλονεικείᾳ, habes in hac Synodo clarissimum exemplum. Quod autem certum sit quod hic dicit se nullius Synodi vidisse finem bonum, docent nos historiæ: Nam Ariana hæresis jocus fuit ante Nicænum Concilium præ illa confusione quam ipsi post Concilium excitaverunt,* (that was not long of the Synod.) *Talis etiam fuit Macedonici & Nestoriani Concilii. Nam illa pars quæ est condemnata eo fuit conjunctior, ut tali specie concordiæ & unitatis suas præstigias pingerent quasi nulli justa ratione damnari possent. Subinde excitarunt majora certamina contrà Concilia quæ ipsi non recte intelligebant.---* P. 247. *Illud possum facillime probare quod miser ille Pastor in Hippone S. Augustinus plus docuit quam omnia Concilia--- Dicam & quiddam amplius: Majus Lumen accedit Doctrinæ Christianæ ex Catechismo puerili quam ex omnibus Conciliis, & oratio Dominica & decem præcepta plus continent doctrinæ & eruditionis quam omnia Concilia.*

§ 22.

§ 2. Because I recite the words of the Bishops crying *Peccavimus*, he exclaimeth against me, as making *Repentance* and *Recantation* a derision, and this by the *Spirit of Schism which is nice in point of honour, no Conviction shall be able to reclaim it, though in the most indefensible thing in the World.*]

Ans. Add but with the Inquisitors, [*Therefore burn them as hopeless,*] and you are come to the end of your Lesson. The penetrating Wits of some men are admirable. This man whose face I never saw, knoweth my heart so much better than my self and my acquaintance, that he can tell that it is to avoid dishonour that I avoid Repentance, when I offer him my Oath, that if I have any knowledge of my own desire, I would thank him as my dearest Friend, who will by Evidence shew me any necessary truth that I deny, or Falshood that I hold, and will joyfully publish my recantation.

2. And he can see Schism in my forbearing known and heinous sin in the satisfaction of my Conscience, while I write, and preach, and practise Communion with their Church, and can see none in silencing Thousands, and *ipso facto* excommunicating many more Thousands of godly Christians, and denying Baptism and the Lords Supper to such as think it is sinful to do---- he knows what.

3. And he can see those things to be most indefensible, which after our best study we take to be clear, and can get no rational Reply to our defence.

4. And (for want of memory or tenderness of his partners veracity) when their Advocates have so oft and scornfully charged me with *Retractations*, and also told the World how much my own party (as they call them) speak against me, and my many large and free oppositions to the faults of Nonconformists that run into any extream, do all proclaim how little I have set by such honour; yea, when himself saith that I have fiercely contended against all Sects and Parties, and they call me *Ishmael*, whose hand is against every man: After all this to proclaim as aforesaid, such obstinate Impenitence for the love of Honour, I confess doth no more further my conviction than the Oath of an Irish Witness would have done: For if he had sworn it, I would have shewed my Books and their contrary testimony, and have askt him, whose honouring of me is it that I buy so dearly? It is not the Rulers, nor the Prelates, nor their Clergy,

nor their adherents, noble or ignoble: And if I have willingly and laboriously displeased and lost the Sectaries too, whose honour is it that I sell my Soul for?

§ 23. But did the man think that *Unconstancy* and *compliance with* powerful Heresie, is the same thing with Repentance for it? Or is it well done to persuade the Reader that it is Repentance or Retractation of Heresie I write against, when I recite the words of the Council and their own? Do I say that *peccavimus* was their sin?

§ 24. And I would humbly desire him in time to consider, 1. Whether it was a venial sin not to be named by me, when the most zealous Papists and Historians name it, for so great a number of Bishops to turn and turn again so often, and that with Anathematizing one year of what they voted for before with Anathema to the contrary. I crave your impartial consideration but of two Instances: How oft did they with Anathema's vote for and against the Council of *Calcedon* as the Emperours changed? Yea in the same Usurpers time, *Basiliscus*, when he changed himself. 2. In the case of Images: How oft did they change in Councils, for them and against them, as the Princes changed? Sir, we mind this with lamentation and not insultingly: But if you take these for venial little sins, and our not swearing and covenanting all that you bid us for a mortal sin, are you not partial?

2. And I would wish you to think on it again, before you make this guilt your own, by mincing and excusing it; and lest you make all other mens sin your own, whom hereby you encourage in the imitation of them. These are not things indifferent.

3. And do not so dishonour Prelacy, and your Church and Discipline, as to tell the World that these in Bishops are little things; what then is left for you to stick at? No man should make light of such Beams in the Eyes of those that should be the most pure, while they are pulling the mote of scrupling a Ceremony, yea an Oath. *&c.* from their Brothers Eye, and that by such Iron Instruments as they use.

§ 25. Next comes his Logical terms, [*throwing dirt, outragious, bitter, malicious*, &c.] And what's the matter? [*I give not one loose at Emperours and Courts: scorning to change the game, charging the Bishops with the faults of the Magistrate, and laying all*

all the blame on them.] In what words? I say, [*so far could fierce, and factious Prelates prevail with a pious and peaceable Prince, by the pretences of opposing Heresie and Schism.*

Anſ. 1. Was he not a moſt pious and peaceable Prince? Then *Socrates* that knew him, and proteſteth againſt flattery, and many others, are not to be believed? yea, if he excelled not the Biſhops?

2. Do I ſay that none but the Biſhops perſuaded him? Where do I lay all the fault on them? Do I not after name the Empereſs *Eudocia*, as the Agent to perſuade him for the Eutychians, and *Pulcheria* to perſuade him againſt *Neſtorius*: My words are viſible.

3. What Biſhops were they that perſuaded him to make a Law to confirm the *Epheſine*, Eutychian Council? Was it not *Dioſcorus* and the Eutychians? Were they not Biſhops? Did they not do it? Yea, doth not this man oft revile them far more bitterly than ever I did, and revile me for ſpeaking ſo charitably of them? Would you ever have expected that the ſame man ſhould have ſo reviled me, for ſaying that theſe Eutychian Biſhops prevailed with a good Emperour to confirm that Council of Eutychians?

4. Is it a ſin not to ſpeak hardlier of ſo good a Prince, who after repented and puniſhed his Wife and Eunuch for perſuading him? It was a blaming him to tell to what he was perſuaded.

Truly the mans anger here for my blaming the Eutychian Biſhops, in condemnation of whom he hath poured out ſo much more than I, doth make me think that there is ſomewhat in the ſound of ſome words, that turns his wrath this way or that: When he hears the name of an Eutychian, *away with them, ſpeak not eaſily of them.* When the ſame men are called Biſhops, it's *malice, outragious bitterneſs* to blame them for getting a Law to confirm that called an Heretical, Murdering, Latrocinian Council. His words are, p. 146. [*Were there ever greater violences committed than in that infamous Conventicle at* Epheſus?]

§ 26. P. 263. He confeſſeth that the *Debate between the Council and the Egyptian Biſhops was ſomething too warm*: but ſaith *that heat was not altogether without reaſon.* *Anſ.* This is his way to confeſs their faults, and then rail at me for bare reciting the words of the Debate or Hiſtory. But it *was not without reaſon*: He confeſſeth.

confeſſeth not ſo much as this of the ſilencing and ruining Miniſters now. It ſhall not be the uſe of my reaſon to make Fig-leaves to cloath and cover the ſins which God abhorreth.

Men will be men he ſaith, wherever they are placed, whether in a Council or in the Church, or even at the Altar.

Anſ. By *Men* I ſuppoſe he meaneth Sinners: and it's true. But of all Sinners Oh that God would ſave his Church from thoſe who hate reproof, and cheriſh the worſt that will be for them, and excommunicate and proſecute the moſt conſcionable that will not obey them in things which they call indifferent, for fear of ſinning againſt God.

§ 27. His trifling words about *Leo* and *Rome* are not worthy of an Anſwer.

§ 28. He hath, P. 268. hit again on the overſight which I before confeſſed, even the effect of my neceſſitated haſte, that in tranſlating *Theodoret*'s words I put (*truly*) in the wrong place: I ask him forgiveneſs, and the Biſhops, if that be any ſlander againſt them; which is nothing to them.

§ 29. He ſaith, P. 269. [*There is no truth in what our Author ſaith, that* Ibas *Epiſtle was acquit.*] *Anſ.* There is no truth in ſaying that I ſaid it was, when my words were disjunctive, [*The Epiſtle was acquit, or at leaſt the Biſhop upon the reading of it.*] He ſaith, *Ibas was not acquit on the reading the Epiſtle, but on the defence he made, that he communicated with* Cyril. *Anſ.* His Accuſations of Falſhood are commonly Boyiſh Quibbles. His Defence and the Reading of his Letter go together, and in *Binnius* the Letter, and the Letters of the Clergy of *Edeſſa* are the laſt things done before he is diſcharged.

§ 30. P. 270. He ſaith, [*The truth is, the* Eaſtern *Biſhops were not ſo ingenuous and fair after their reconciliation with* Cyril, *&c.*] Thus he becomes himſelf ſtill an accuſer of the Biſhops.

§ 31. Becauſe I ſay that the Judges paſt ſentence to caſt out both *Stephen* and *Baſſian* from *Epheſus*, and *all conſented*, he ſaith, [*One would think here the Judges paſſed ſentence againſt the conſent or Inclination of the Biſhops.*] *Anſ.* There is no end of anſwering your *thinkings*. I did not ſay that the Judges paſſed the Councils Sentence but their own: And whether it were againſt the *Fore-inclination* of the Council let any Reader judge, when the Judges asking the Council their ſence, [*Reſ. Epiſcopi clamaverunt, juſtitia Baſſianum vocat: Regulæ valeant.* The

Judges

Judges answered them that their judgment was that both were to be cast out, and a third chosen, and the Council suddenly consented. If he would be believed conrradicting this he must deny the Acts.

§ 32. He hath found matter for a quibble against *tasting* Poterius *Flesh with their Teeth.* Teeth taste not: Dangerous false History, or want of Learning is learnedly here discovered. When he cannot deny the most woeful, calamitous dissentions which followed the *Calcedon* Council, he saith, [*Was it the misfortune or the fault of these only not to be able to heal the differences of the Church? Or was the defect in the Councils, or the blame to be imputed to those obstinate men that opposed the Rule established by them?*]

Ans. No: They were neither the first nor the last that have miscarried. Nor are we the first that suffer under such miscarriage. It was the misfortune of the Churches to have such Physicians: But as it is the honour of some Physicians to shew how many Patients they have cured, so is it of some others, when most die under their hands, to be able to say, that it was long of the Patients that would not be ruled, or that they killed them *secundum artem.* It was a Proverb in *Sutton-Coldfield,* [*Who begun?*] A poor man had but one Ass and he loaded him too hard, and the Ass being in pain bit his Master a little on the Buttock; and his Master knockt him down, and killed him; and when he saw him dying, [*Well,* (saith he) *But who begun?*] But who had the loss? There be Clergy-Men that can impenitently see the *Strages,* the divisions, the swarms of sin that are the consequents of their needless masterly Impositions, and wipe their mouths and say, It was the obstinacy of those that would not be ruled by us! They kill a Flea on a mans Forehead with a Beetle, and say they meant not to kill the man.

But if that Councils Acts were a fit means to cure the Churches Divisions, how came they to be presently and through many Ages, yea, ever since to this day, thereby increased so many fold? Though the Assembly at *Jerusalem* cured not all the Jewish Teachers of their blind Zeal for *Moses* Law, it was so far from increasing the Dissentions and number of Dissenters, that it satisfied the Gentile Christians for the most part, and many of the Jewish, and greatly diminished the Discord. It's one thing *not wholly to cure,* and another to *make far worse.*

§ 33.

§ 33. He instanceth also in the *Dort Synod that made things worse.*

Ans. 1. The Synod of *Dort* made things the worse in their own Country, not by their *Doctrinal Decisions*, but by too much of the *Masterly Spirit*, engaging the Magistrates against the *Arminians* in the use of the Sword. Whether it be true that they say, that they were necessitated to do what they did against *Barnevelt* and *Grotius* for the safety of their State, I am no Judge: But I am sure it is of an ill sound to those that read it: And so is it to read in *Episcopius* and others, what violence the People have used against the *Arminians*, and they were fain to tolerate them when all was done.

And it's no wonder that the Dissention increased in *England*, when the Clergy would not long stand to the decrees that by our own six Delegates were moderated: Dr. *Heylin* tells you how Bishop *Laud*'s Zeal was the cause of our following Contentions: And how? By bearing down all that were against him.

2. But the meer *Doctrinal Decrees* of the Synod of *Dort* are so moderate and healing, that where Violence hath been forborn, and Reason used, many have been pacified by them. And

3. What that Synod did not, a few private Peace-makers have much done: The Writings of *Camero Amyraldus*, *Capellus*, *Placeus*, *Testardus*, *Lud. Crocius*, *Mat. Martinius*, *Conr. Bergius*, *Joh. Bergius*, *Blondel*, *Daile*, and above all, *Le Blanc*'s have for ought I hear, half ended the controversie. And having my self written one Book (*Cathol. Theologie*) for Reconciliation, I have not to this day had a word of Contradiction, but the Consent of very many. And as I before noted, Is not even in *London* where other differences might exasperate, yet this Controversie almost laid to sleep? But if our *Arminians* will but get as severe Laws and Canons made against them that are not of their Opinions, as be against them that dare not conform to the Diocesane Model and the rest, they shall quickly see this quarrel revived. The Articles of the Church of *England* determine not these Controversies, and that is our Peace. Put in but one determining Article against either side, and it will break us more in pieces. Doth not our own Case and Experience then confute those over-doing Councils?

§ 34. His next Instance is that of the *Westminster* Assembly,--- *So far from reconciling the People, that after this they were distracted*

ſtracted into innumerable Schiſms: Never was there ſo lamentable a face of things, never ſuch variety of Hereſies, and ſuch Wantonneſs, and Extravagancy, in blaſpheming God under pretence of Religion and Conſcience: And this is the State whither the ſame manner of men are driving again.

Anſ. 1. I ſay again I knew ſo many of that Aſſembly, as that I do not think that the Chriſtian World had ever an Aſſembly of more able and truly pious Clergy-Men, theſe 1300 Years at leaſt. But theſe Upſtarts that knew them not can tell us any thing that Faction hath taught them to believe concerning them and others. The Parliament was by ſeeming neceſſity drawn to gratifie the Scots: The Aſſembly, though Conformiſts, all, ſave Eight or Nine, were as ſenſible as the Nonconformiſts of the miſchiefs of ſilencing worthy Miniſters, and forbidding Afternoon Sermons, and ſuch like; and they were as much againſt Arminianiſm and Popery as the Church of *England* was in A. Bp. *Abbat*'s days, and as much as he againſt the Doctrine of *Mainwaring* and *Sibthorp*: And the Parliament abſolutely reſtrained them from debating any thing but what they propoſed to them; ſo that they that were for the Primitive Epiſcopacy had no liberty to debate it, or ſpeak for it, but on the by. But when the Covenant was offered them againſt Prelacy, they were about to enter a Proteſtation againſt it, and were ſtopt only by limiting the renunciation to the Engliſh frame deſcribed in an explicatory Parentheſis. But for my part I think them much to be blamed, that they did not, though againſt that prohibition, reſolve to propoſe ſuch moderate healing terms to the Parliament as were agreeable to their judgments, or at leaſt have teſtified againſt the limiting of Church Concord to ſuch narrow termes, as muſt exclude ſuch men as were for the Engliſh Epiſcopacy: They might eaſily have known, that the number of ſuch in *England* was ſo great, as that an excluding Law muſt needs be an Engine of great Diviſion; and that Conqueſt will not change mens Judgments.

And as I doub. not but the five Diſſenting Independents were greatly to blame, for making ſuch a ſtir for leave to gather their Churches, when nothing was impoſed on them which they could accuſe; So I doubt not but the Aſſembly were to be blamed for making a greater noiſe againſt errours than they had cauſe for. Their deſire of Concord, which was good itſelf, did raiſe

them to too great Expectations of it, and too great impatience of little differences. They publiſhed their Teſtimony againſt the errours of the times, in which they took in Dr. *Hammond*, and made many differences worſe than they were, too like the old Hereticators. And they wanted that skill to compoſe their differences with the Independents, as was needful to that end, and might have been attained. And will the faults of that Aſſembly juſtifie the far greater faults of others? But

2. This ſort of Hiſtorians do much more differ from us about the matters of Fact, which our Eyes have dayly ſeen, yea, about our own Thoughts and Minds, than about the Hiſtory of the ancient Church. The caſe was very far different from that which he deſcribeth. Mr. *Lawſon*, a Conformiſt, ſaith, [There was never better Preaching, Piety encouraged and encreaſed, *&c.* than at that time. In all the Counties where I was acquainted, there were many young Orthodox faithful Preachers, that gave themſelves wholly to do good, for one that was ten Years before, and not any conſiderable number noted for any immorality: We were in the County where I lived almoſt all of one mind; for Epiſcopal, Presbyterians and Independents uniting in that which they agreed in, and leaving all to Liberty in the reſt, we lived in conſtant Brotherly Love and Peace without Diſſention. I never knew of any of a divers Religion in all the County, ſave at the end, in one or two corners about Twenty Quakers: And near me were about Twenty otherwiſe Orthodox, that denied Infant-Baptiſm, (and perhaps as many more in the whole County,) and Two or Three ignorant Socinians. In the next County I heard not of ſo many Heterodox: Never did I ſee, before or ſince, ſo much Love and Concord among Miniſters, and all religious People, nor read of any Age that had ſo much for 1300. Years. And whereas the common cry is, Oh, but they were all Rebels againſt the King! I have named abundance of the Miniſters in mine Apology to Dr. *Good*, (who being Epiſcopal was a Guide in our Meetings, and after ſo accuſed the Nonconformiſts) and challenged him to name one of them that ever meddled with Wars. I knew none in all the County that was in any Army ſave the King's, ſave Mr. *Hopkins* of *Eveſham* (dead) and my ſelf, and one that is a Conformiſt, and one Independent (dead.)

But it's true, that they were then ſo ſet upon Pariſh Reformation and Concord, that they were more troubled at any one that

that did turn Quaker, or againſt Infant Baptiſm, than ſome indifferent Perſons are at Multitudes. And I was one that diſputed moſt againſt them, and wrote againſt ſome diſtant Antinomians, moſtly Souldiers; But our Diſputes ſatisfied and confirmed all our Neighbours more than Priſons would have done. We puniſhed none of them, and none of our People there turned to them. But I confeſs we were commonly too little ſenſible, how much hurtful Violence hindereth Concord, more than loving forbearance of tolerable differences. As too many were how much for Peace they ſhould have abated of the Zeal for their private Opinions, which they thought to be better than they were. We were much like the days that followed the Apoſtles, which had ſome troubleſome Sectaries, but the main Body of Chriſtians did cleave together in Love, till ſucceſs had puft up a *rebellious Army* to make themſelves Rulers, to the Confuſion of themſelves and others.

§ 35. At laſt mentioning the common Diſſentions of the Churches, he ſeems to reſolve the Queſtion, *What then muſt be done?* But he puts us off only with the Negative Anſwer, that [*the Rule, i. e.* of our Uniformity *is not to be altered.* And why? [*We have no aſſurance that we ſhall find any Conformity to it more than we have now.*]

Anſ. I muſt not call this Anſwer as it deſerveth.

1. You were about dealing otherwiſe with the Papiſts: Dr. *Heylin* tells us how much they were to have altered for Concord: Mr. *Thorndike* threatens the Land, if you alter not the Oath of Supremacy for them: The name of the Pope and Anti-Chriſt hath been expunged for them; yet you ſaid not, *We know not that they will come any nearer us.*

2. By theſe meaſures a Rag or a Ceremony ſhould never be abated for the Peace and Concord of any Church or Kingdom: You may ſtill ſay we are not ſure that this will ſerve them. The Pope may ſay ſo, where he refuſeth to abate the ſhaving of the Prieſts Beards, or the leaſt of his Impoſitions; yea he knows that would not ſerve. They ſaid ſo to the *Bohemians* four Demands: They concluded ſo at firſt againſt *Luther*. This very Argument hath kept them from all Reformation.

3. Can you find nothing in your Impoſitions that in the nature of the thing is worthy to be altered? If not, you have more or leſs Wiſdom than Biſhop *Morton*, and the reſt of the Church

Doctors who at *Westminster* motioned so many Alterations. If one should but then move you to correct your known false Rule for finding *Easterday*, or to give Parents leave to be the first Promisers for their own Children, and Godfathers but their seconds, or not to deny Christendom and Communion for that or a Ceremony: No, come on it what will, nothing must be altered, lest men ask more. And yet you preach against Clergy Infallibility, (or subscribe at least.)

4. But if you are so much against altering, why did you alter to our greater suffering, and add as much more (yea five times more) to the former Task and Burden? You can no doubt say somewhat for all this.

5. And when it is the same things that the old Nonconformists still asked, and we since 1660 askt yet less, what reason had you to raise that suspicion that we will not be satisfied with what we ask? Have we given you any cause? If you mean that perhaps there be some still that may be unsatisfied, will you deny Peace to so many that beg it of you, because others will not accept it on their Terms? Or will you never agree with any lest some disagreement should arise hereafter.

Some Travellers were assaulted by the high way by a Captain of Souldiers, who took all their Money, Swords and Horses, and swore he would kill them if they would not take an Oath to conceal him: One took the Oath to save his Life, another scrupled it: They begg'd his Mercy to restore so much as would bring them home: He askt them what would satisfie them: One would have his Horse, another his Sword, another part of his Money. He told them, *You are a Company of Rogues, that can neither agree what to ask; nor give me assurance if I give you this you will ask no more.* I compare not the Authority but the Reasons of the Denial.

§ 36. But seeing no abatement of their Canons, *&c.* must be granted, what is it that must cause our Concord? He would not tell you; but it's discernible what's left: It must be *no Concord* but what Punishment can procure: And what punishment? Sharper than is yet tried; for that hath not done it: Such Concord as *Tertullian* nameth, *Solitudinem faciunt & pacem vocant*: The Concord in *Spain* is worse than the *Amsterdam* toleration.

Again I remember the great Fish-Pond mentioned by Judge *Hale*, that had multitudes of Fish and frie; and at last two small

small Pikes put in; when the Pond was drawn there was never a Fish but the two Tyrants (as he calls them) grown to a huge bigness. The fear least *Popery* and *Prelacy* should be the two Pikes, tempted men irregularly to covenant against them. To have such variety as Roch, Dace, Pierch, Tench, Carp, made it a Schismatical Pond; The two Pikes were against Schism and Toleration, and for ending the Division by reducing all to unity of Species.

§ 37. As to his Question of Qu. *Elizabeths* days, the Intimation may seduce the ignorant, but none else. 1. If he know not that it was the Subscription required in the Canons, (that *nothing in the Books is contrary to the Word of God*, scrupled, which broke the Peace and Concord of *England*, he is unfit by his Ignorance to be an Informer of others. I have known many that would have yielded to come into the Conforming Church, if *that one word* had been but forborn: For when any practice against their Consciences about baptizing, Communion, or Burials had faln in their way, they would have silently shifted it off, or been from home, and have ventured to answer it, so they could but conscionably have got in. But our Canoneers are for all or nothing.

2. He is sure no English Clergy-man, if he know not how much is laid on us, that was not known in the days of Qu. *Elizabeth*. Is it to inform men, or deceive them, that he makes the difference to be between 36 and 39 Articles, and saith nothing of all the new Covenants, Declarations, Oaths, Subscriptions, Doctrine and Practises?

§ 38. Many make use of Mr. *Edwards Gangrena*, and *the London Ministers Testimony against errours*, to prove the Heresies and Confusions of the late times. No doubt all sin is odious: But few men living are more competent Witnesses of those things than I. The Errours that sprung up were much more tenderly resented then than now. You now have many called Wits and Persons of Quality, who at a Club dispute against the Providence of God, the immortality of the Soul, and a future Life; and there is neither Church-Admonition, Excommunication, nor any great matter made of it, but they are Members of the Church of *England*, the purest Church in all the World: Whereas in those licentious times, if one Souldier had spoken such a Word, it would have rung out through the Land, and perhaps his Tongue would

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have been bored with an hot Iron. It was the errours of the proud rebellious Soldiers that made most of the noise, that had no considerable number of Ministers left with them. I had a hand in Mr. *Edwards* Book thus: An Assembly of Ministers after *Naseby* Fight sent me into the Army to try if I could reduce them. Dayly disputing with them, a few proud selfconceited Fellows vented some gross words. At *Amersham* a few Country Sectaries had set up a Meeting in Dr. *Crooks* Church, to dispute and deceive the People: A few of Major *Bethel*'s Troop (that afterwards turned Levellers and were ruined) joined with them: I met them, and almost all day disputed against them, and shamed them, and they met there no more. I gathered up all the gross words which they uttered and wrote them in a Letter to *Francis Tyton*, and after I found them cited in Mr. *Edwards Gangrena*. And what's the absurd Speeches of a few ignorant Souldiers, that are dead with them, to the Heresies and Schisms that these 1000 or 1200 Years continue in all the Roman Communion, and they say in all the rest of the Christian World. One cheating Papist as a converted Jew got into an Anabaptists Meeting, one *Maxwell* a *Scot*, and all *England* rung of it. But when Bishops have made and keep *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, &c. in the same Errours, Dr. *Heylin*, and Bp. *Bromhall*, and such others, took them for such, with whom a Coalition on the terms by them described was very desirable.

CHAP. XXIV.

His 7th Chapter considered.

§ 1. THE Man had not the courage to defend the surgent Prelacy in its Manhood and Maturity, but only in its Infant and Juvenile State; nor to defend the many hundred Councils which I mentioned after the Council of *Calcedon*, in which either his Modesty or Cautelousness comes short of his Rd. Fathers, who some of them own the six first General Councils, and some of them eight, and some would unite with the Church of *Rome*, if they will abate but the last 400 Years additions.

§ 2. In

§ 2. In his Gleanings in this 7th Chap. he over, and over, and over perſuadeth his Reader, that I make or affirm that [*the Bps. were the cauſe of all the Hereſies in the world, and of all the Hereſies, Schiſms, and Evils that have afflicted the Church.* And hath this Hiſtorian any proof of this? Or is it the melancholy fiction of his Brain? Yes, this is his proof contrary to my manifold Inſtances, becauſe I ſay in one age, [*We have a ſtrange thing, a Hereſie raiſed by one that was no Biſhop*: which I have anſwered before. To be *then ſtrange*, and *never to be at all*; are not words of the ſame ſenſe? But his Anſwers throughout do mind me of *Seneca*'s Words, that a man that is ſore complains (or cries Oh) when he doth but think you touch him.

§ 3. He thus himſelf accuſeth the Biſhops, *p.* 276. [*There have been wicked men and wicked Biſhops in all times.*] And p. 277. [*That ſome Biſhops have abuſed their Authority and Office, and been the cauſe of Hereſie and Schiſm cannot be denied.*] But yet [*He hath ſhewed ſufficiently, that moſt of my particular Accuſations are void of all truth and Ingenuity.*] *Anſ.* Or elſe thoſe words are ſo.

§ 4. He ſaith *All Eccleſiaſtical Writers agree, that* Simon Magus *was Author of the firſt Hereſie in Chriſtian Religion.*] *Anſ.* All confeſs that *Judas* was before him: And if it be a Hereſie to buy the Spirit for Money, it is a Hereſie to ſell Chriſt for Money. But I confeſs ſome tell us of his after pranks at *Rome*, and imitating *Icarus*, at *Peters* Prayers: If you would ſee why Dr. *More* takes this for a toyiſh Legend, ſee his *Myſtery of Iniquity*, Lib. 2. C. 19. § 6, 7. p. 447, 448.

§ 5. P. 286, 287. *Baronius* firſt, and *Philaſtrius* after, are made guilty of Forgery and diſregardable Hiſtory, ſo that I may well bear ſome of his Cenſures.

§ 6. P. 290. To confute me effectually he ſaith much what the ſame which is much of the ſum of all my Book: And yet it's falſe and malicious in me, and true and charitable in him: *viz.* [*Praiſing the firſt* 300 *years*, (when the Biſhops were ſuch as we offer to ſubmit to:) he adds [*The following Ages were not ſo happy; but as Chriſtians generally degenerated ſo did the Biſhops too.*]

Anſ. What! Before the Council of *Nice!* That's a ſad Confeſſion. I was ready to ſay as a Roman Emperour ſaid to a flatterer, that ſtill ſaid all that he ſaid, [*Dic aliud aliquid ut duo ſimus,*]

mus,] But his next words allay it, [*But yet not so much as our Author would make it appear.*] As the Dominicans and Oratorians must say some falshood of *Calvine*, lest they be thought Calvinists.

And yet he addeth, [*The beginning of the 4th Century was very unhappy to the Church, for Persecution without, and Heresie and Schism within.* Meletius *an Egyptian began a Schism, forsook the Communion of the Church*, &c. *Next the Donatists, Arians*, &c.]

Ans. It seems that the Emperours *Constantius* and *Valens were without the Church, and yet the Arian Priests and Bishops were within it.* When he defineth the Church we may understand this. But is it not this 4th Century that is made the Churches more flourishing state by others?

§ 7. Even the great Historian of Heresies, *Epiphanius*, is said p. 292. to be [*unaccountably mistaken in several things relating to that History.*] And 293. hath [*a strange unaccountable mistake in diverse other things relating to that matter.*] If I had at any time erred with such a Bishop and Father, I might have been excusable for reciting his History.

§ 8. Pag. 295. He opens the very Heart of his Parties Principles, and saith, [*The Church is never distracted more by any thing than Projects of Moderation.*]

Ans. Experience proveth that you speak your Heart. The words are no wilful Lye which agree with a mans Mind, be they never so false as disagreeable to the matter. No man was more of that Opinion than *Hildebrand*, that would not yield the Emperours the Investiture, nor as I before said, abate the Prince of *Calaris* the shaving of his Bishops Beard to save his Kingdom. *Victor* began with that Opinion too soon, but his Successors have these Thousand Years been as much for it as you can wish.

2. But to whom is it that you intend this? Sure not to all: Was Bishop *Laud* of that mind toward the Papists if Dr. *Heylin* say true? Was *Grotius* of that mind toward them? Was Arch-Bishop *Bromhall*, *Forbes*, *Bezian*, *Thorndike* (and many more such) of that mind? No: I'le excuse you, that you meant not them and their *Projects* of *Moderation*: Nor I believe neither *Cassander*'s, *Erasmus*'s, *Wicelius*'s, *Sancta Clara*'s, *Leander*'s, &c.

But towards such as I am, you have been as firm to that Principle as any one of our Enemies could wish. In 1660, 1661. it

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was most effectually improved; and you have attained much of the fruits then foretold: and ever since have been unmoveably and prevailingly true to it.

3. But this maketh some men the *Distracters of the Church*, if not the *greatest*, which truly I have better thoughts of: Such as *Junius*, *Paraus*, *Amyraldus*, *Le Blanke*, *Davenant*, *Ward*, *Usher*, *Holdsworth*, *Morton*, *Hall*, &c. And lately when we were preparing for the Kings Return, Bp. *Brownrig*, and after his death Dr. *Gawden*, Dr. *Gulston*, Dr. *Allen*, Dr. *Bernard*, and diverse such did offer themselves to a Treaty for Moderation: And since then Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Burton*, Dr. *Tillotson*, and *in diebus illis* Dr. *Stillingfleet* have been guilty of this crime, of *distracting the Church by projects* of Moderation: But I can name the Bps. that were not guilty of it.

To abate or forsake the necessary points of Faith and Practice on pretence of Moderation, is to destroy Christianity on pretence of Humanity or Peace. But to make Laws that men shall preach with Horns on their Heads, to signifie the Victory of Truth, and to ruine all that will not keep these Laws (much more if men should command worse) and to say a Project for Moderation would distract the Church, would be as far from Wisdom as it is from Moderation: And some Prelates have done as bad as this.

§ 9. He confesseth *p.* 296. that by force and Fraud [*the whole World in a manner was turned Arian.*] And did I ever say worse of the Bishops than this?

§ 10. He maketh *Aerius* to speak against Bishops because he could not be a Bishop, so that he was of a Prelatical Judgment and Spirit, and calleth him [*The Cartwright of the times,*] by which if he mean that Cartwright would have been a Bishop, it doth but tell us that he deserveth little belief in his History.

§ 11. He is a most singular Historian, *p.* 303. in telling us, that after the Monothelites *in following Ages of the Church the Devil started up but few Heresies till these Ages,--- Swenkfeldians, Anabaptists*, &c.

By this I perceive he believeth neither Papists nor Protestants: For the Papists name many Heresies since, and the Protestants say that Popery is but a Composition of many Heresies, and name us many that concur'd thereto.

§ 12. He there giveth me this serious Admonition, [*It is a much greater wonder that any man that makes Conscience of what he saith, should against all truth of History, and against his own knowledge, charge the Bishops with all the Heresies in the World: that a person that seems so sensible of approaching Judgment, as frequently to put himself in mind of it---should yet advance so malicious and groundless an Accusation. There is no dallying with the all-seeing God---What Plea shall be made for whole Books full of Calumny and Detraction*, &c.]

Ans. This is not the least acceptable passage to me in his Book; I love the man the better for seeming serious in the belief of Judgment; and I hope his Warning shall make me search my Heart with some more jealousie and care. He seems here to believe himself; but being my self far more concerned than he is to know how far I am guilty of what I am accused, as far as I can know my Heart and Writings, I'le tell the Reader what to judge of his words and me.

1. That I *charge the Bishops with all the Heresies in the World*, never was in my mind, nor can I find it in any of my Writings: Yet this he very oft repeateth: And should a man so often write a falshood about a thing visible, and never cite the place where I say it, and this while he is thus seriously mentioning *Calumny* and *Judgment*.

2. Can he make men believe at once that I do persuade men that Bishops or Dioceſanes came not up till about 150 years after Christ, and yet that I make them the Authors of the Heresies that were in those times? *Non entis non est actio*: Could Bishops be Hereticks when there were no Bishops?

3. If I had *charged the Bishops with all the Heresies*, it followeth not that I had charged no one else with them, and made the Bishops the sole Authors, and acquit People, Priests, and Princes; why then doth he name many Monks and Priests that were Hereticks? Or Emperours that promoted them, as if this crossed what I say? Did he think that I excluded the Army if I blame the General, or the Prelatical Priests when I blame the Prelates? If I took the Bishops of *England* to be the chief cause of our Church-Schisms, and Calamities, doth it follow that I acquit such as you, and all the Clergy like you?

4. That I have done this [*against all Truth of History*] which I transcribed out of the Councils and Historians most partial for

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the higheſt Prelacie, is either a great untruth, and unproved by him, or I know not what I read or write.

5. That I do this againſt my own Knowledge I am certain is an untruth.

6. That my Accuſations are *malicious* I am *certain* is untruth, as being able to ſay that I ſpeak in pitty to the Church, and to ſave Souls from deceit, and malice no man; but pray with the Liturgy, that God will *forgive our Enemies, Perſecutors, and Slanderers, and turn their Hearts.*

7. That I have brought any *Groundleſs Accuſation* I muſt take for an untruth, till my Grounds produced are better confuted.

8. Much more that I write *whole Books full of Calumny and Detraction.*

All theſe and more untruths being heapt up with the mention of Death and Judgment, tells us whither Faction and Prepoſſeſſion may carry men.

2. But what is the truth I ſhall again briefly tell the Reader: 1. About 2000 of ſuch Miniſters as I confidently take for the moſt ſpiritual, and conſcionable and devoted to God and the good of Souls are ſilenced, and in Law impriſoned and ruined; and all the People of their mind are *ipſo facto* (if they confeſs it) excommunicated, beſides their other penalties. I accuſe not the Law but mention only the matter of Fact, which the K. once commiſſioned Bps. to have prevented.

2. The Kingdom is dolefully divided, and alas, the ſad conſequents are not to be named.

3. Beſides all our Penalties the Biſhops accuſe us as the cauſes of all, and as wilful Schiſmaticks, and call for the Execution of the Laws againſt us.

4. We ſay, we dare not do that, which when ever they will give us leave, we are ready to give our reaſons why we take it for heinous ſin againſt God, and tending to the ruine of the Church: nor dare we forſake our Miniſtry while the Churches neceſſities are to us paſt doubt.

5. We beg of them but to abate us ſome needleſs Oaths, and Covenants, and Profeſſions, and a few things called *indifferent* by the Impoſers, that we may all live in Chriſtian Love and Peace, and we offer them as unqueſtionable ſecurity for our Peaceableneſs, Loyalty, and Orthodoxneſs, as the ſaid Oaths, Promiſes, or Profeſſions can be.

6. They tell us, *Nothing is to be abated us, and we must cease preaching, the Rule must not be altered; we will do more harm in the Church than out; Projects for Moderation most distract the Church; There is no Concord or Liberty to be expected, but by our total obedience to the Bishops; It is obeying the Church, yea the Universal Church of Bishops, that is the only way to Concord.*

7. To confute this Supposition, which is the root of our Calamities, I transcribe out of History and the Acts of Councils, how great a hand in the Schisms, and Heresies, and Confusions of Christians, those Bishops have had, who have swelled up above the primitive species, by vast Dioceses, Wealth, and claim of Government over other Churches and Bishops; and that it is notorious that this Grandeur and exorbitant power of Bishops, singly or in Councils, hath been so far from keeping the Church from Schisms, that it hath been one of the greatest causes of the Schisms of most Ages, since such a sort of Prelacy sprung up, and that Popery came not up in a day, but rose from that Juniority to its present Maturity. This was my work.

§ 13. He truly tells you, that the *Original of all mischiefs is the Lusts that war in our Members, and not this or that Order of Men.*]

When the World had a good Pope, if God would bless that Order of men, some think he might do more good than any other man. But he hath toucht the Core of the Churches Malady. Verily, the grand Strife is between the *Flesh* and *Spirit*, the seed of the Serpent and of the Woman: And if Patriarchs and Diocesans were but as much set on the promoting of a holy and heavenly Life, as those Ministers are whom they silence and imprison, they might do much good, though the largeness of their Dioceses render them uncapable of performing the 40th part of a true Bishops Work. No doubt but Bishop *Hall*, and *Potter*, and *Usher*, &c. did much good, by such preaching, writing, and good living, as others use that are no Bishops.

But will fire burn without fewel? And will it not burn if combustible fewel be contiguous? Do not the *Lusts that war in our Members* live upon that food which we are forbidden to provide? Do you think that the *Lust* of the Flesh doth not more desire Riches than Poverty, Honour than a low Estate, Domination over others, to have our Will on all, than humble Subjection? Where the Carkass is there will the Eagles be gather-

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ed. Do not you your self say, that the Bishops and Church grew more corrupt after the third Century? Do you believe that when a Bishops Power was made equal to a great Lords, or more, and all his Pomp and Riches answerable, that the Lust of the Flesh would not more greedily desire it, than it would desire a meer mediocrity? Or that a worldly proud man would not seek more for Lordship and Greatness, than a *Synesius*, and such others as you say fled from it? If the poor retired Monks were as bad as you make them, what wonder if great Lordly Bishops were much worse? Will not the fire of Lust grow greater as the fewel is greater?

I am satisfied that Riches and Power well used, may greatly serve the Interest of Religion: But two things must be considered.

1. That the *greatest Power and Wealth* being far more desired by carnal Worldlings, (that is, by bad men) than by mortified heavenly minded men, the more men desire them, the more eagerly they will seek them by Friends, Flattery, or any means: and therefore the liker they are to attain them, except when the choosers are some resolved godly men. And so which way can a Succession of the worst men be avoided? But a mediocrity that doth not to the Flesh overweigh the labours and difficulties of the sacred Office, will encourage the good, and not much tempt the bad: Or if good men will be never so bountiful to pious uses, their bounty and Church-Lands may better maintain Labourers enough for the work, than be made a snare to one.

2. And that Power which depopulateth and destroys its end, is unlawful in its very state, as well as in its use. The Power of one man to be sole Physician to the City, and to have none but Apothecaries under him; or of one man to be the only School-Master in the County, and have none but Ushers under him, is rather to be called *Destruction* than *Power*. It is Bishops casting out Power that I am against, that is, the necessary Power of the Keys in the Parish Ministers, or putting down necessary Bishops; and also a Power to silence Christs faithful Ministers, and deprive Souls of the necessary means, by imposing things needless in themselves, and sinful in the receiver, that after his best search believes them such.

Seeing then that we are agreed, that it is the *Lust that warreth*

reth in men, that is the corrupter of the Church, let but the face of the whole Romane Clergy these 1000 Years at least tell us, whether it be not the swelling of the Power and Wealth of Bishops, that hath caused so long a Succession of a worldly, lustful, tyranical Clergy.

§ 14. And he truly saith, [*p.* 306. that the *generality of men when they have gained Wealth and Honour, are commonly willing to secure the enjoyment of those Possessions, by letting things run in their ordinary course.*

(The Spanish Proverb is, *The World is a Carryon, and they are Dogs that love it*, and they will snarle at any that would take it from them, and if it lie in the Ditch, Dogs rather than Men will gather about it: and its pitty such men should by such a Bait be tempted into the sacred Chair.) And he truly adds, that *Repulse and Disappointment will end such mens Patience.* For really as the man is, such are his desires: It is not only turgent Prelacy but a Prelatical Spirit that troubleth the Church: And if *Novatianus* or *Arius* would fain be a Prelate, it is in his heart; and no wonder if he be a Schismatick; *Trahit sua quemque voluptas.* Appetite is the Spring of Action. All the Popes Clergy are much of his mind; for they participate of his worldly Interest, and depend on him, and therefore participate of the Papal Spirit. The Interest of the General and Army are conjunct.

§ 15. And its true that he saith, that *the Bishops Interest obligeth him to maintain Peace and Unity.* And so no doubt from that sense of Interest it is endeavoured, in *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*, &c. when a strong man armed keeps his house, the things which he possesseth are in Peace. But whether therefore the People did ill that forsook the Bishops and followed *Luther*, or are all bound to cleave to the Bishops Unity, is the doubt.

§ 16. Whether it be true, *p.* 310 that *very few if any one were Bishops when they turned Hereticks*, I have enquired in the Preface; though if they ascended from Heresie to Prelacy it's all one to me. But by this I conjecture that he taketh fewer for Hereticks than others do, and that he pretends acquaintance with their minds, in that antecedent part of their Lives which no History mentioneth. I confess I think that for the most part men are Papists before they are Popes or Papist Bishops: And yet I think that it is first the *desire of Papal and Prelatical Gran-*

deur

deur, and next the *Exercise of it*, which is the cause of Schism and Persecution.

§ 17. I verily believe as he doth, that Platonick Philosophy, and a willingness to win the Heathens by compliance, had a great hand in corrupting many Doctrines; and not only Monks but others of the most religious Christians, had a great hand in many of the ancient Superstitions, especially those that tended to the over-honouring of their Martyrs, and too much advancement of their Bishops, when they came newly from under the Persecution of the Heathens. But it came not to be universal, nor the Engine of great Corruption and cruelty, till the Bishops turned all into a Law. Who could make any of all this necessary, but Pope, Prelates, or Princes, who pretended a Legislative Power hereto? Even *Luther* and *Melanthon* were indifferent to diverse Ceremonies, so they were made to be indifferently used. But when they are made necessary by a Law (specially more necessary to a Minister than his Ministry, and to a private Christian, than his Church Communion, who doth more vehemently condemn them than they?

§ 18. That *Paschasius Radbertus* was the first that broached the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, is a doubtful expression. Either he meaneth the *Name* or only the *Thing* under another Name. If the latter, he will do more than *Edm. Albertinus*, or Bp. *Consius* have done, if he prove it: If it be the name that he meaneth, I think (by my Memory, for I will not for that go read him all over) that he will not find the name in *Radbertus*, nor any where before *Stephanus Eduensis*, about 130 years after him: and that all that he can truly say, is but as *Bellarmine* doth, [*Hic Author primus fuit qui seriò & copiosè scripsit de veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia contra Bertramum Presbyterum.*

§ 19. *That the Bishops charged* by me *with these Corruptions, were the only Opposers of them that we find in antiquity, as we may see in the Canons of* Africk *and* Spain,] is a saying very near kin to much of his History: I confess that so few Presbyters in comparison of Bishops were publick Actors, whose Judgments were notified to the World, that it's no wonder (after *Constantine*'s time) if there be more proofs of their words and deeds than of other mens: But there are a great number of excellent men here slandered against the credit of all Church-History, and their

their own Writings yet in our hands. Would it be worth the Readers Price and Labour, I could swell my Book with the proof that what he speaketh is untrue. Did he think that I could not prove that *Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatianus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origene, Arnobius, Lactantius, Macarius, Maternus Firmicus, Ephrem Syrus, Faustinus, Hierome, Ruffinus, Prudentius, Sulpitius Severus, Sedulius, Mammertus, Cassianus, Vincent. Lirinensis, Socrates, Sozomen, Isodore Pelusiota*, &c. did something in opposition to some Church-Corruptions? Though some of them promoted some others: Yea, *Antonie* and abundance of Monks that furthered some, opposed others no less dangerous: Though many of them may be accused as *Bellarmine* doth *Sulpit. Severus*, for saying, *Ecclesiam auro non strui sed destrui.*

Judge of time past by what we see; Is it *only* the Bishops that are against the Popes Church-Corrupting Usurpation in *Italy, Spain, France*, &c. Is it *only* the Bishops that are against the Mass Corruptions, and against all their corrupt Doctrines of Indulgences, Purgatory, Images, *&c.* and against all their Ceremonies, and prophane abuse of holy things? Was it only the Bishops at *Constance* and *Basil*, that were against suppressing the Bohemian and Moravian Reformation? In the end of *Lydius* upon *Prateolus* you may read a Letter subscribed by so great a number of Lords and great men, for *John Hus*, and *Hierome*, and the Reformation, which yet prevailed not with the Bishops, as will tell you who was then the greatest Opposers of Church-Corruption. And I think Princes and Drs. opposed it more than Bps. in *Luther*'s time. Is it only the Bishops that have opposed warping towards *Rome* for Church-Unity? Have none but Bishops been against corrupting the Churches, by silencing good Ministers and ordaining bad ones? The things that are, have been. I confess our difference is great on the case, *what is to be accounted Church-Corruption.* For that which in one Country goeth for Corruption, in another (yea the same) goeth for *Church-Glory, Strength, and Beauty*; Our main difference is about what's good, and what's bad; what's Virtue, and what's Vice.

§ 20. He next comes to *Sedition*, and asketh [*What Reign have they disturbed here with their Sedition?*] And because he knoweth that I can refer him to the large Volume of their Treasons written by *Prin*, and abroad to the many Volumes in *Goldastus*,

daſtus, and the many Hiſtories of the Wars of Popes and Councils againſt Emperours,] he prevents all my Proof with a downright Untruth, that [" *If a man be not blind he may ſee that my* " *Hiſtory is only deſigned againſt Proteſtant Biſhops under a general* " *name.*

Anſ. Was it not enough ſo groſly to write this Untruth of me, but he muſt alſo reproach all the Readers as blind that will not judge falſly of what they read? Doth he know my meaning better than my ſelf? He knoweth that I plead for the Primitive Epiſcopacy, and that I profeſs to intend this Hiſtory moſt to diſcover the Riſe, Growth, and Maturity of the Popiſh deſtructive ſort of Prelacy. Readers, can you believe this man, that I wrote the caſe of the Biſhops before and under Popery, and of the Popes, and of above Five hundred Councils, and all theſe before the name of a Proteſtant Biſhop was known in the World, and as he ſaith, gathered their faults, and all this only againſt the Proteſtant Biſhops, and not againſt Popes or Prelates, or any of the Councils that I named?

Perhaps he would tempt me to refer him to the Hiſtory of Biſhop *Laud*'s Trial, or to what Biſhop *Abbot*, *George* and *Robert*, Biſhop *Hall* and others ſaid againſt him: Or to tell him of A. Bp. *Williams* Arms for the Parliament. But theſe are not Subjects fit for our Debates.

§ 21. P. 318. When I ſay, that *where Prelacy with the Papiſts is at the higheſt, Princes are at the loweſt.* He asketh, *Is it the Biſhop or the Papiſt that is here to blame? Is this the effect of their Order?*

Anſ. 1. I thought the Pope of *Rome* and the Biſhop of *Rome* had been the ſame. 2. But this Corrector of Hiſtory taking Untruths not only into the *Completion*, but the *Stamina* and Scope of his Book, among all the reſt ſuppoſeth me to ſpeak againſt *a Biſhop as a Biſhop*, when I have troubled him with my repeating ſo often that I *am for Biſhops*, and that it is not the *Office* but the *tumor*, and that *tumor* that maketh another *ſpecies* which I oppoſe. Doth he not think that the Popes Biſhoprick is faulty (yea, as a *corrupt ſpecies?*) And as it is more *tumid* than the *Patriarchs*, is not the *Patriarchs* more *tumid* than the *Metropolitanes*, and that than the *Dioceſanes?* And if Dr. *Hammond* were not deceived, who thought that *there were no ſtated worſhipping Aſſemblies in Scripture times without a preſent*

Bishop, is not the *sole Bishop* of a Thousand or a Hundred such Assemblies different from a Bishop of *One only?* And if many Canons speak truly, that say a Bishop should be in *every City* that hath a *Church*; and every great Town like our Corporations and Market Towns was called a City, doth not a Bishop of one City, and a Bishop of 50, or 40, or 10, differ so far, that a man may be against one without being against the other? Doth he speak against Patriarchs that speaks against the Pope? Or against Diocesanes that speaks against Patriarchs? Or against the Primitive Bishops that speaks only against such Diocesanes as put them all down, and all their Churches, and almost all true Discipline of such Churches, like *Eraſtians*.

§ 22. *P.* 319. 322. His Charge on *Socrates* and *Sozomene* (shaking the credit of Church-History) as writing that [*which no reasonable man can believe as it is related by them, without loving a malicious Lye.*] I spake to before: If such Historians *believed* not what they write or *loved a malicious Lye*; alas, whom shall we believe? Is he better than they?

And his note that *Valesius* judged *Eusebius Nicomed* no *Heretick*, I before noted.

But I will follow that case no further, lest he should draw me to seem to charge the ancient Bishops with sedition, whom I never intended so to charge; but only to desire those that can excuse the Language *e. g.* of *Gregory* the great to *Phocas*, of *Ambrose* to *Eugenius*, of the Bishops to *Maximus*, and many such like, not implacably to reproach and hunt those that did no more or not so much.

§ 23. His full Stomach discharged itself against me three times over with one charge, *P.* 314, 320, 352. [Oliver Cromwell *and his Son, the* David *and* Absalom *of Mr.* B.] And [*He compares the most barbarous villain in the World to King* David, *in his Epistle to his Son.*

Anſ. Reader if there be no such word in any of my Writings, after all these Accusations of this man and many such other, I must leave it to thy self how thou wilt name these men, their History, and their dealings; for if I name them they will say I rail.

Yea, what if this very man (it's easie to know why and whence) doth even here, *p.* 352. *&c.* reprint the very Epistle which he thus accuseth, and cite no such word, to tell us that he

he knew there was no such word there, and yet thus affirmeth it, what will you call this?

The words cited by himself are these, [" *Many observe that* " *you have been strangly kept from participating in any of our late* " *bloody Contentions, that God might make you a Healer of our* " *Breaches, and employ you in that Temple Work, which* David " *himself might not be honoured with, though it was in his mind, be-* " *cause he had shed blood abundantly, and made great Wars.* 1 *Chr.* 22. 7, 8.]

Had I said what is this Week published, as one of their chief Dr's Elegy upon Oliver Cromwell, *(with two others) what should I have heard? What abundance of Conformists flattered* Oliver, *while I openly disowned him as a Usurper; but now their malice hath got the handle.*

Is here ever a word of *Oliver?* Is he here called *David*? Did I not purposely say, [*David himself*] and cite the Text, lest any should feign the same that he doth? Any man may see that he hath nothing to say, but to accuse my Thoughts, and suspect that I had such a meaning. And who made him acquainted with Thoughts that were never uttered? Or made him a Judge of them? If his and other mens thoughts may be thus by conjecture accused, no Enemy need to want matter of Accusation.

It's like he will appeal to my Conscience whether it were not my thought? And 1. By what authority will he so do? 2. But I will shrive my self to him this once. It is so long since, that truly I remember not what was in my Thoughts, any further than my words express: But I well remember my *former Actions*, and what was then *my judgment of* Oliver and his Actions, and I use not to speak against my judgment. Many knew that he being acquainted the first day that I went into the Army, (which was after *Naseby* Fight) that I was sent by an Assembly of Divines, to try whether I could turn the Soldiers against his subverting Designs, (then first discovered to me,) he would never once speak to me while I was in the Army; and that ever after I was driven away, I openly in Pulpit, Press and Conference disowned, and warned men to disown his Actions against King and Parliament, and his Usurpation; and that I wrote against the Engagement: And therefore I do not think that ever I meant to call him *David*, and I am sure I never *did it*. But they say old Men can see better afar off than near at hand; and so all these notorious Untruths about visible present things, may yet consist with such mens credibility about things said and done 1300 Years ago.

§ 24. And now I am here, I must not pass by his friendly Admonition, *p.* 357. after his reciting my Epistles, [" *If I were as*

" *worthy to adviſe Mr.* B. *as he was to adviſe* Cromwell, *I would* " *ſay, It were much more adviſeable for a Chriſtian, ſpecially for* " *one that thinks he is ſo near his eternal State, to repent and cry* " peccavimus, *than to ſtand on Juſtification of the fact,* &c.]

Anſ. 1. It was uſual for men to chooſe their own Confeſſours: But it being the Cuſtom of the times for Paſtors and Confeſſors to be forced on Diſſenters, I will ſubmit now to your way, though my former Confeſſions and my Communion with you have been turned to Reproach and Scorn.

1. I do daily beg earneſtly of God, to let none of my ſins be unknown to me, and taken for no ſin, and be unrepented of; and that he would forgive that which I would fain know, and do not.

2. I do not repent of owning *Oliver*'s Actions againſt King and Parliament, or his Uſurpation; for I never owned them, nor the Actions of them that ſet up his Son.

3. I do not repent that I loved the Peace of the Church, and that I deſired the Governour, though a Uſurper, ſhould do good and not evil.

4. I do not repent that ſeeing the Armies Rebellions and Confuſions, I ſtirred up Rulers and People to take heed of favouring ſo great Sin.

5. But I do now by experience of other ways perceive that I was ſometimes too eager in aggravating mens Errours, and repent that I uſed not more forbearance of ſome of my Accuſations of ſome of them.

6. I did think that *Richard Cromwell* was an Uſurper: But when we had been twelve Years at leaſt without a rightful Governour, I then thought as *Thomas White*, alias *Blacklow*, the moderate Papiſt, wrote, that the Land could not ſubſiſt in Society without ſome Government, and that *No-Government* is worſe to the People than a *Uſurped one*: And that it is ſomtime lawful to *ſubmit* and *uſe* an Uſurper, when it is not lawful to approve his Entrance. And wherein I was deceived I am willing to be better informed.

7. But I do unfeignedly repent that I wrote thoſe two Epiſtles, though it was to put a man on to do good, whom I *never ſaw, nor ever had the leaſt to do with.*

8. And I do more repent of the cauſe of all, *viz. that I appointed God a time*, and limited his Providence; and thought that

that because so many Armies and Endeavours had failed Twelve or Fourteen Years, that had attempted the restoring of the King, therefore there was no probability of accomplishing it: I do not repent that I was not a Prophet, to know before what God would do; for it was not in my power; nor do I repent that I preached Christs Gospel under Usurpers; but I repent that I waited not Gods time, and did not better consider that want of humane Power is no hinderance to Omnipotency, and nothing is difficult to him.

9. I was drawn too far by Mr. *Harringtons* Scorn, and the dislike of Sir *Henry Vane*'s Attempts for a Common-Wealth, to meddle with matters of Government, and to write my Political Aphorisms, called, *A Holy Common-Wealth*: And I do unfeignedly repent that ever I wrote and published it, and had not more confined my self to the matters proper to my Calling, and let those meddle with forms of Government who were fitter for it.

All these, besides what's formerly said to Mr. *Bagshaw*, I declare my unfeigned Repentance of. And though it pleaseth you to feign me a Schismatick, and hater of Repentance, (for speaking against the fault that needed it) I shall thank you to be a real helper of me in so necessary a work as Repentance is.

And that I may do the like by you, I shall now only requite you with this Advice, that before you write next, you will set before your Eyes the Ninth Commandment, *Thou shalt not bear false Witness against thy Neighbour*: And that when you say your Prayers, you would be serious when you say, *Lord have Mercy upon us, and encline our hearts to keep this Law.*

§ 25. A Roman Zeal tells us, that Faction and Schism, when animated by worldly Interest, and grown up to a malignant hatred of the things and persons that are averse to it, is hardly bounded, but is thriving up towards destructive Persecution, as swelling Prelacy did towards the Papacy and the Inquisition. It is not one or two Fishes that will satisfie the stomach of a Pike: Nor is it the slandering or ruining of one or two men, or silencing of one or two of the Ministers of Christ, that will satisfie a malignant Spirit. One Meal will not make a lean Man fat. Whether there be a Legion in those that would destroy a Legion of Christs Servants, or one have so much Power I know not; but the effects tell us *what manner of Spirit they are of.* But let the Papists pass.

§ 26.

§ 26. When I read *p.* 337, and 358, 359. and such passages, it makes me think of them that cried, [*His Blood be on us, and our Children,*] together with our Judge's words, [*In as much as you did it or did it not to one of the least of these my Brethren, you did it or did it not to me.*] P. 337. he saith, [" *There is great* " *reason to value the peaceable Resignation of the Nonconformists,* " *when we consider by what Usurpation and Violence they were brought* " *in, and what a number of worthy learned Ministers were turned* " *out to make vacancies for these men, who were to instruct the Peo-* " *ple in new Mysteries of Religion, which their old Pastors had not* " *the Conscience or Ability to teach them, that is, of the lawfulness* " *of Rebellion.*--- And p. 358, &c. *There were many of those Mini-* " *sters Usurpers, and had intruded into the Churches of other men,* " *who had been silenced and cast out.*--- *There were many others that* " *were intruders into the Ministry, and such not a few of them as* " *Mr.* B. *himself would not have thought fit to have continued. All* " *the rest were such as would not submit to the Rule that was then* " *established in the Church, but chose rather to leave their Livings,* " *and the Bishops could not help it, any otherwise than as they were* " *Members of Parliament; for it was the Law that tied them to* " *their choice, and not the Bishops. If Mr.* B. *means what happened* " *before the last Civil Wars, as it's likely he may, then these ancient* " *Teachers were the instruments of an Antimonarchical, Antiepisco-* " *pal Faction: They would preach but they would not conform to the* " *Established Religion: Nay many of them would preach against it,* " *and against their Governours too. These were such Incendiaries as* " *no Government would endure,* &c.]

Ans. When you have noted this part of his History, it will not be hard to judge of his credibility.

I. The things that he defendeth is the silencing and prosecuting of three sorts of Ministers. 1. Many Hundreds of Nonconformists in the days of Qu. *Eliz.* K. *James*, and some few in the time of K. *Charles* 1. 2. Many Conformists in the time of K. *Charles* 1. under Bishop *Laud.* 3. About 2000 that conform not to the New Laws of Uniformity in the time of K. *Ch.* 2. What these Ministers were or are, and what the fruits of their silencing have been, and what it hath done to the Church of *England*, and to many Thousands of Godly Christians, I will not be judge: Nor will I dispute that which all *England* sees or feels. But it seems so well done to our Historian, as that he is willing

willing deliberately to juſtifie or defend it, which as I underſtand is to make it his own, and to undertake to be one of thoſe that ſhall anſwer for it. What if another had done as much againſt him, as he hath done againſt himſelf? And for how ſmall a prize?

II. As he before would inſinuate, that what is ſaid of the great number of Drunkards, and ignorant men turned out, was falſe, though ſo judged upon the Oaths of men accounted the greateſt lovers of Religion in their Pariſhes; ſo he ſeemeth here to intimate that it was only or chiefly into the places of learned worthy men, that the ſilenced Miniſters ſucceeded; whereas it was not one of many that came into any ſuch mens places of them that were ſilenced at the fatal *Bartholomew* day.

III. He ſeemeth to intimate, that when the Parliament (ſuppoſe by wrong) put out either ſuch as he or I deſcribe, the Land muſt be under an Interdict till the Biſhops and King were reſtored, and that Chriſts Goſpel was no more to be preached in *England*, till Dioceſanes returned, but all Souls be given up to Damnation, unleſs Chriſt would ſave them without the preaching of his Goſpel, and the Land was to be left to the Devil and Paganiſm. And who can deny now but the *Dioceſane Species* is *eſſential* to the Church?

IV. When I ſpake only of the ſilencing and ejecting Act, of *Aug.* 24. 1662. he would make the Reader believe, that this Change was to reſtore the Churches to their ejected Paſtors, or caſt out Uſurpers; whereas unleſs Ignorance or worſe hinder him, he knoweth that all that were caſt out and were alive, laid claim to their Benefices, and were reſtored before that, and their Livings reſigned quietly to them, to ſay nothing of the reſt that were ſuppoſed to be at the Lord Chancellors diſpoſal. Thoſe that were put out that the ſequeſtred might re-enter, were none of them ſilenced, nor made uncapable of other Livings till *Auguſt* 24. 1662.

V. He would inſinuate that it was only the *Nonconformiſts* that were caſt out of ſuch ſequeſtrations: Whereas in the Countries that I either lived in or heard of, it was as many or more of the Conformiſts, that had ſequeſtred Livings and were caſt out, and took new preſentations.

VI. And this is evident by his Intimation, as if it were a very great number of the Church Livings that were ſo poſſeſt:

Whereas

Whereas of Nine Thousand or Ten Thousand Ministers then in Possession, Seven or Eight Thousand Conformed: Therefore it's likely that the Conformists had most of the Sequestrations.

VII. He tells you that the Ejected Ministers were brought in to instruct the People in the Lawfulness of Rebellion: Doth not this intimate that this was the case only or chiefly of the silenced Nonconformists? But I have oft cited *Jewel* defending the French Protestants; Was not he a Bishop? I have oft cited *Bilson*, affirming it no Rebellion if the Nobles and People defend their Legal Constitution against one that will -- (I will not recite the rest.) ------ I have oft cited *Ri. Hooker* whose popular Principles I have confuted, and goeth higher against absolute Monarchy, than I or any of my Correspondency did in all the Wars. *Heylin* is for Conciliation with the Papists: He knoweth not their Writings who knoweth not that the Papists are more for popular Election, and Power towards Princes, far than ever such as I were. And had he not put his Head and Eyes into a Bag, he could hardly have denied but that they were Episcopal Conformists on both sides that began the War: But being got into the dark he loudly denieth it.

VIII. He saith, *There were many others that himself would not have thought fit to have continued. Anſ.* I thought I was more likely to know them than he. I remember not one such of an hundred that did not conform. I confess that when the Prelatical party intreated me no longer to refuse the *Westminster* Commissioners Letters, deputing me with others to try and judge of some Episcopal Conformists that stood then for Livings, to avoid all seeming opposition to that way I did stretch as far as I durst, to approve and keep in some Conformists, of very low parts who knew not a quarter so much as some Lay People did: But none of these were Nonconformists.

IX. He saith, [*All the rest were such as would not submit to the Rule then established in the Church.* This is true: And what was that Rule? Did *Peter* or *Paul* make it, or submit to it? Did they refuse any thing that God commanded in Nature or Scripture? Or any Circumstantials necessary *in genere* left *in specie* to the Magistrates determination? They were guilty of believing that God is above man, and that there is no Power but of God, and none against him; and that we must please him whoever

whoever be displeased. They were guilty of so much Self-love as to be unwilling to be damned for a Benefice, or for a Bishops Will. They did not consent to profess Assent and Consent to all things contained in and prescribed by three Books, written by such as declare themselves to be fallible; and such as not one of Fourty ever saw before they declared the said Assent and Consent to them. They did not consent to cast out all Infants from Christendom, whose Parents durst not offer them to Baptism, under the Sacramental Symbol of the Cross; nor unless they might have themselves been Covenanters, Undertakers, or Promisers for them, as well as the Godfathers: Or that scrupled getting Strangers to undertake that perfidiously for their Children which they never intended to perform. They durst not read Excommunications against Christs true Servants, nor repel those from Christian Communion, who scruple kneeling in the reception of the Sacrament: They durst not swear that many Thousands whom they never knew are not obliged by the Covenant, when they know not in what sence they took it: For they are not willing to believe that the compounding Lords and Knights did not put a good sence on it before they took it. They durst not say that all is so well in our Church Government by Dioceſanes, Lay-Chancellours Power of the Keys, Archdeacons, Officials, Commissaries, *&c.* that we may swear against all endeavours to amend it by any alteration; They do believe that the Law of Nature is Gods Law, and that as it alloweth a single Person only private defence, so it alloweth every Nation publick defence against Enemies notorious destroying assaults: And they dare not swear or covenant, that if any should from the Lord Chancellour, *&c.* get a Commission to seize on the Kings Navy, Treasures, Forts, Guards, Person, and to seize on the Lives and Estates of all his Innocent Subjects, that it is unlawful to resist any that execute such a Commission. They find it so hard a Controversie, what God doth with the dying Infants of Atheists, Infidels, Mahometanes, and Persecutors, that they dare not declare, that if any of their Children be baptized and die, *it is certain by the word of God that they are undoubtedly saved.* We say not that the Law binds us to any of the evil which we fear: But we dare not take Oaths and Promises which we understand not.

Abundance I pretermit.

He is extreamly censorious if he think that Mr. *R. Hooker*, Bp. *Bilson*, Bp. *Grindal*, A. Bp. *Abbot*, Bp. *Rob. Abbot*, Bp. *Jewel*, &c. would have been Conformists had they been now alive.

X. He saith, [*They chose rather to leave their Livings.*] *Ans.* They chose not to conform, but submitted only to leave their Livings; *Eligere est agere.* They were passive in this, they refused to conform as supposed by them a heinous Sin, but they chose not to be silenced or cast out; but they *chose* to *endure* it when the Bishops chose it for them.

XI. He saith, that [*the Bishops could not help it any otherwise than as they were Members of Parliament.*

Ans. 1. I confess Scripture useth the like Phrase, *Can the Leopard change his Spots*, &c. or they that are *accustomed to do evil learn to do well?* And Rom. 8, 6, 7. *The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to his Law, nor can be.*] I will not hereitoo much contradict him, 2. But is it nothing that they could have done in Parliament, had they been willing? 3. Is it unlawful for us to know if he know it not, or deny it, how much the Bishops and Clergy did with the Parliament-Men? 4. He should at least have stayed till Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and I are dead, who wrote and disputed with the Bishops by the Kings Commission, before he had talkt at this rate to the World. Did not the King make his Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs? And did he not under the broad Seal commission those Bishops and Doctors to treat with us for the *making such alterations as were necessary to tender Consciences?* Did they not maintain that *no alterations were thereto necessary*, and so end the treaty. 5. Did they not in their next Convocation lay aside the Kings Indulgent Declaration, and make the Additions to the Liturgy? And yet could they not help it? Nor was it none of their doings? 6. Doth not *England* know that Parliaments since have by experience perceived their Mistake, and would have suspended our Prosecution, and restored us to Unity, and the Bishops and Clergy will not consent but rage against it, and preach and write to have us executed according to the Laws, and no abatement to be made, and as this man, think that the Churches *Distraction* is from *Projects of Moderation.* What name should one give to such Histories as these? The guilty cannot bear their names.

XII. He

XII. He saith, [*It was the Law that tied them to their choice and not the Bishops.*

Ans. 1. Suppose the word *choice* were proper here, [Is it any justification of the Executioners?] It was the Emperour *Charles* the 5th's Edict that tied all the Protestant Ministers to conform to the *Interim*, or be gone: It was the Law that tied the Martyrs in Qu. *Maries* days to profess what they believed not, or to be burnt. Alas! How could *Bonner* and *Gardiner* help it? 2. But how many Bishops were against the passing of that Bill? And who perswaded the Lay-Men to it? Must we not know when it's night if you deny it?

XIII. He tells you, that [*the ancient silenced Teachers before the Civil Wars, were the Instruments of Antimonarchical and Antiepiscopal Faction.*

Ans. 1. Which of them all said so much as Mr. *Hooker*, Bp. *Bilson*, Bp. *Jewel*, &c. have done? 2. If you make any Conscience of the 9th Commandment, prove the Truth of what you say of those that were suspended and driven out of the Kingdom in the times of A. Bp. *Laud*, Bp. *Wren*, Bp. *Piercy*, &c. for not reading the Book for Lords-days Dancing and Sports, and that were prosecuted for Preaching twice on the Lords-day, and for not turning the Table Altar-wise, and railing it in, which even Bp. *Montague* as well as *Williams* was against. Was Bishop *Miles Smyth* of *Glouceſter*, were A. Bp. *Abbot* or *Grindall Antimonarchical* or *Antiepiscopal?* 3. Prove if you are able any Antimonarchical Principles, Words, or Deeds by Mr. *Hilderſham*, Mr. *Brinsley*, Mr. *Paul Baine*, Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Knewſtubs*, and hundreds of such I might name. The most malicious are fain to talk of one *Knox*, or one *Goodman*, or one *Junius Brutus*, (that is, *Hubertus Languetus Melanchthons* friend) or somewhat in *Buchanan*, not the tenth part so much as is commonly said by the Papists, with whom our A. Bp. *Bromhall* and his Companions so much plead for Concord. 4. Doth not *Al. Cope*, and *Sanders*, and *Pateſon* in the *Image of both Churches*, and lately the nominal *Bellamy* in his *Philanax Anglicus*, and many more such, say all the same of the Bishops and Church of *England*, and all that they deride as [*Protestants* of *Sincerity*] as guilty of far more rebellious Principles and Practices, than ever you can prove by the meer Nonconformists old or new? And is it enough to accuse?

XIV. He ſaith, *They would preach but they would not conform to the eſtabliſhed Religion.*

Anſ. 1. But why ſhould they be forbidden to preach (which was good and they were devoted to?) If a man will not *do all* that you would have him to do, ſhall he *do nothing?*

2. What was that which he calleth the *Eſtabliſhed Religion?* It was the Ceremonies and Subſcription, *that there is nothing in the Liturgy contrary to the Word of God.*] And was this a Crime worthy the forbidding men to preach the Goſpel? Or why ſhould the Souls of Thouſands of the Innocent People be ſo heavily puniſhed for another mans omiſſion, even becauſe the Teachers fear Conformity.

3. But ſtill we ſee what theſe mens *Religion* is: Had their Religion been the Scripture, or any Doctrine or Worſhip common to the Chriſtian or Proteſtant Churches, the old Nonconformiſts willingly conſented to it. But here they ſhew that their Ceremonies and proper Liturgy forms are their Religion. But then 1. Why do Dr. *Burges* and all that plead for your Ceremonies and Invention, build all on this, that you make them not any parts of Worſhip or Religion, (which they confeſs man may not invent) but meer accidents? 2. How *old* then is *your Religion*? Your Liturgy was made ſince *Luther* began his Reformation. 3. It ſeems then that you are not of the ſame Religion with the Proteſtants that have none of your Ceremonies, Liturgy or Subſcriptions. 4. Is not then your Church of a ſingular Religion from all the World, and conſequently a ſingular Church? And is it the whole Catholick Church then, or a Schiſmatical Church?

I confeſs that you ſhew more evidently than by ſuch words, that your ſelf-made Rules and Circumſtances are your Religion: For 1. You make Conformity to them to be *de facto* more neceſſary than *our* Preaching the Goſpel, or *our* Church Communion, or any publick Church Worſhip of God. 2. And you excommunicate by your Rule or Canon every Member of Chriſt in *England*, that doth but think and ſay, that any thing of your Impoſition, Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Government are ſinful. 3. And yet when you have done you call all your Impoſitions *things indifferent.* 4. And thereby you declare that your *Religion* in part is a thing *indifferent.* 5. And no Man or Woman ſhall be of your Church that cannot know *all the in-*

different

different things in the *World* which may be impoſed on them, to be *Indifferent* and not *Unlawful*; when you know (or you know not whom you dwell among) that we have much adoe to get one half your Church to know *things neceſſary*. 6. The Papiſts that put a greater neceſſity on their Inventions will deride you for an *Indifferent Religion*.

There was a poor Puritane Nonconformiſt that feared Lying, that went about the Streets with Ink to ſell, and was wont truly to cry, [*Very good Ink, very good Ink*;] but once his Ink a little miſcarried, and he durſt not call it [*Very good*,] but cried, *Pretty good Ink, Pretty good Ink*,] and no body would buy of him, and he loſt his Ink. And if you cry up [*An indifferent Religion*,] whatever you have for numbers, you will have for quality but an *Indifferent Church*, (ſave our Rulers.)

XV. But he adds, [*Many of them would preach againſt it and their Governours too.*]

Anſ. 1. You tempt them towards it. If I ask the Butcher [*Is your Meat ſweet?*] and he ſay it is *indifferent*, I am excuſable if I think it ſtinks. 2. They judge by the effects: They thought that when an *indifferent* thing caſteth out a neceſſary thing, it becomes naught. 3. But yet your Accuſation is unfaithful: Why did you not ſay then, that it was not for *Nonconformity* that men were caſt out, but for *preaching againſt your Religion?* Who were thoſe? Was it proved? If ſo, what was that to the reſt? Do you puniſh many learned moderate men for the fault of a few others that they were not concerned with? You now alledge Mr. *Hilderſham, Ball, Bradſhaw, Baine, Knewſtubs*, and abundance ſuch, for being againſt *Separation*, and perſuading men to come to the Common-Prayer, (and many of them to kneel at the Sacrament,) and yet when you plead for their Silencing, even other mens words may ſerve againſt them.

XVI. To conclude, in all he layeth the cauſe of their ſilence on themſelves for not conforming, and yet will not tell us what we ſhould do to help it. Would they have us Conform while we judge it as ſinful as I have mentioned in my firſt *Idea for Peace*? No; they profeſs the contrary. Would they have us believe all to be lawful? We cannot: Our Judgments are not at our Command: What would they have us do to change? Worldly Intereſt maks us too willing! We ſtudy as hard as they!

We

We earneſtly beg Gods Illumination to ſave us from Errour We read all that they write to convince us: And the more we read, ſtudy, and pray, the more heinous the Sin of Conformity ſeems to ſome. I askt Bp. *Morley* the ſame queſtion when he forbad my preaching, before the ejecting Act; and he bid me read *Bilſon* and *Hooker*: I told him that was not now to do: and in both of them I found the Principles which are made the cauſe of my Silencing, my greateſt Crimes, and in one of them worſe. He then told me, *If God would not give me his Grace he could not help it*: And yet moſt of theſe men are againſt *fatal, reprobating, neceſſitating Decrees.*

The impoſing Papiſts uſe men worſe: Of whom will you pardon a Fable.

A *Bee* and a *Flie* were catcht together in a Spiders Web: The Spider when they were tired with ſtriving, claimed them both for her Food, as a puniſhment for breaking into and troubling her Web: And againſt the Bee ſhe pleaded that ſhe was a hurtful Militant Animal, that had a Sting; and againſt the Flie that ſhe was noiſome and good for nothing. The Bee anſwered that her mellifying Nature and work was profitable, and Nature had armed her with a Sting to defend it. And the Flie ſaid, as ſhe did little good ſo ſhe did little harm, and could make her ſelf no better than Nature had made her. And as to the Crime alledged againſt them, they both ſaid, that the Net was made by a venomous Animal, ſpun out of the Air and the Venom of her own Bowels, made for no uſe but to catch and deſtroy the Innocent, and they came not into it by malice, but by ignorance and miſtake, and that it was more againſt their Will than againſt the Spiders, for they contrived not to fall into it; but ſhe contrived to catch them; and that it was not to break the Net that they ſtrove, but to ſave their Lives. The Maſter of the Houſe overheard the Debate, but reſolved to ſee how the Spider would judge, which was quickly done without more words; ſhe took them for Malefactors, and killed them both. The Maſter of the Houſe ſo diſliked the Judgment, that he ordered that for the time to come, 1. The Bees ſhould be ſafely hived and cheriſhed. 2. And the Flies, if not very noiſome, ſhould be tolerated. 3. And all Spiders Webs ſwept down.

I need to give you no more of the Expoſition of it, than by the *Spider* I mean the Papal noxious Canon-makers, and that by the

the *Net* I mean their unneceſſary and enſnaring Laws and Canons, which are made to catch and deſtroy good men, and are the way to the Inquiſition, or *Bonner*'s Coal-houſe, or *Smithfield* Bonefires. But I muſt deſire you not to imagine that I ſpeak againſt the Laws of the Land.

§ 27. As to the Concluſion of his laſt Chapter, I ſhall now add no more but this: If what I ſaid before and to Mr. *Hinkley* ſatisfie him not, of what Religion and Party both ſides were that began the War, and Mr. *Ruſhworths* Collections, and other Hiſtories of former Parliaments be not herein uſeful to him, let him but ſecure me from burning my Fingers with Subjects ſo red hot, by mens miſinterpreting and impatience, and I will (God willing) give him ſo full proof, that (to ſay nothing of latent Inſtigators and conſequent auxiliaries on either ſide, nor of the King himſelf, whoſe Religion is beyond diſpute,) the parties elſe that begun the War in *England* did differ in Religion, but as A. Bps. *Laud*, and *Neal*, and *Bromhal*, and ſuch others; and A. Bps. *Abbot* and *Williams*, and Bp. *Bilſon*, on the other ſide; and as Dr. *Mainwaring*, *Sibthorp*, &c. on one ſide, and Mr. *Ri. Hooker* and ſuch on the other ſide differed. And if my proof be confutable I will not hereafter undertake to prove that *Engliſh* is the language of *England*.

But my Bargain muſt be thus limited. 1. I will not undertake that from the beginning there was no one Papiſt on the Kings ſide, or no one Presbyterian on the Parliaments: I could never yet learn of more than one in the Houſe of Commons, and a very few Independents, but I cannot prove that there was no more.

2. You muſt not put me upon ſearching mens hearts: I undertake not to prove what any mans heart in *England* was; but what their Profeſſion was, and what Church they joined with in Communion.

3. And you muſt not equivocate in the uſe of the name [*Presbyterian*,] or [*Nonconformiſt*,] and tell me that you take ſome A. Bps. and Bps. and ſuch Divines as *Ri. Hooker*, and *Bilſon*, and Bp. *Downame*, the Pillars of Epiſcopacy and Conformity, for Presbyterians.

And if it may be I would beg that of you, that you will not take the long Parliament for Presbyterians and Nonconformiſts, who made the Acts of Uniformity, the Corporation Act, the Militia

Militia Act, and those against conventicles, and for banishment from Corporations, &c. Notwithstanding their high Votes about the Succession and Jealousies of Popery, and that which they said and did hereupon: For I confess if it be such Nonconformists or Presbyterians as those that you mean, I'le give you the better. And I must also desire that you call not the next Parliament, which consisted most of the same Men, Presbyterians or Nonconformists; nor the other since them? Or at least that hereafter before we dispute we may better agree of the meaning of our terms.

And I declare to the Reader, that nothing in all this Book is intended against the Primitive Church-Government or Episcopacy, nor against the good Bishops, Clergy, Councils, or Canons, which were many; nor against King, Parliament, Magistracy, the Laws, or Liturgy, or Church Communion; nor against our peaceable and patient submission where we dare not practically obey: But only against the diseases and degeneracy of Bishops, Clergy, Councils, and Canons, and those dividing practices, by which they have for 1200 Years and more been tearing the Christian World into the Sects of which it now consisteth; and against the whole ascendent Change from the Primitive Episcopacy to Papal maturity: and against our swearing, Subscribing, declaring, covenanting, professing, and practising, where we understand not the Imposers sense, and are unwilling by our private Interpretations to deceive them, and where we are perswaded that it would be heinous sin to us, not meddling with the case of Lawmakers or Conformists, who have no such fears, but think all good.

Chrysostome (before cited) in *Act.* 1. *Hom.* 3. *p.* (*mihi*) 472. speaketh harder than I ever did: [ἐκ ἄλλως λέγω, &c. which *Erasmus* translateth, [*Non temere dico, sed ut affectus sum & sentio; Non arbitror inter Sacerdotes multos esse qui salvi fiant, sed multo plures qui pereant.* His reason is the same which some give why they think most Physicians kill more than they cure, because there is so much Wisdom, Goodness, Watchfulness, and Diligence required to their Calling, which few of them have.

Luther is much sharper than I ever was, when he saith, [*Hieronymus & alii Patres vixerunt in temporali Successione Ecclesiæ, expertes Crucis & persecutionis. Episcopi enim jam tum cœperant crescere & augeri opibus, existimatione & gloria in mundo: Et plerique*

rique etiam tyrannidem exercebant in populum cui præerant, ut testatur historia Ecclesiastica: Pauci faciebant sua Officia, &c. Loc. Com. 4. Class. p. 79, 80.

Et Cap. 27. p. 48. de Synodis. *In posterioribus Conciliis nunquam de fide, sed semper de opinionibus & quæstionibus disputatum* (after the first) *ut mihi Conciliorum nomen pene tam suspectum & invisum sit, quam nomen Liberi arbitrii.*

What *Melancthon* thought of the Papal design of magnifying Councils, and pleading the necessity of uninterrupted Succession of Episcopal Ordination, see in his Epistles, especially of the Conference at *Ratisbone*.

Dr. *Henry Moore* in his *Mystery of Iniquity* saith, p. 132. ["That Principle tends to the ruining of Faith, which supposeth that without right Succession of Bishops and Priests, "there is no true Church, and therefore no true Faith: and "that this Succession may be interrupted by the Misordination "or Misconsecration of a Priest or Bishop, the Persons thus ordained being Atheists or Jews, or ordained by them that are "so---- As if a man could not feel in his own Conscience whether he believed or not the truths of holy Scripture, without "he were first assured that he was a Member of that Church, "that had an uninterrupted lawful Succession of the Priesthood "from the Apostles times till now.

Perhaps *Episcopius* and *Curcellæus* will be more regarded. Read that notable Preface of *Curcellæus* to *Episcopius* Works, *p.* 12, 13. [*Resp. Experientiam docere nullas unquam Controversias de Religione inter Christianos exortas auctoritate synodali feliciter terminatas fuisse---& certiorem multo pacis viam esse*----- Next he shews how little good even the *Nicene* Council did, and how much worse things were after: *Hierome* saying, that the whole World was Arian, And *Constantius* reproaching *Liberius* for being with one man against all the World: The Vulgar *Dicterium* being, *Omne Concilium parit Bellum.* Whence he gathers that Councils, such as the World hath hitherto had, *non esse idoneum componendis Religionis dissidiis Remedium: Et quamdiu illud usurpabitur perpetuas in Ecclesia & Republica turbas fore.*

Episcopii & præcipuorum emicuit fides & animi magnitudo, quod ne promisso quidem solutionis ejusdem quo antea fruebantur stipendii, induci potuerint ut se ad silentium quod imperabatur servan-

as copious and sharp is *Episcopius*, Q. 32. p. 56. b. in maintaining that the Magistrate hath no Authority to forbid sacred Assemblies to tolerable Dissenters, and that Ministers and People forbidden them must hold on to the death, that I will not recite the words, but desire his Admirers to read them.

An

An Account to Edward *Lord Bishop of* Cork *and* Rosse *in* Ireland, *of the success of his Censure of* Richard Baxter *in* England: *Detecting his manifold Untruths in matter of Fact.*

§ 1. TO give my Character of you whom I know not, as you do of me, is none of my work: But 1. Your *Stile* alloweth me to say, that by it you seem to me to be a man of Conscience, fearing God. 2. And yet your *Matter* assureth me, that you speak abundance of Untruths confidently; I suppose, partly by not knowing the persons and things of which you speak; and partly by thinking that you ought to believe the false Reporters, with whom you are better acquainted.

§ 2. The strait which you cast us into is unavoidable: Either we must seem to own all the false Accusations brought against us, which will hurt others far more than us; or else we must deny and contradict them, and that will pass for an intolerable addition to our guilt, and we shall be supposed such intemperate, fierce abusive Persons as you describe me, while you think we give you the Lye, or make you Slanderers. But we cannot cure your Misresentments, but must be content to bear your Censures, while we call you not Lyars, but only acquaint you with the truth.

§ 3. For my own part my final Judgment is so near, and I am conscious of so much evil in my self, that I have no reason to be hasty in my own Vindication, but much reason to take all hints and helps for deeper search, and will not justifie my Stile. And God knows I am afraid lest selfishness or partiality should hinder

me from finding out my ſin: and I dayly and earneſtly beg of God to make it known to me, that I may not be impenitent: But either Prejudice, Converſe, or ſomwhat elſe, maketh a very great difference between your Judgment and mine, of Good and Evil: And I cannot help it: If I err it is not for want of willingneſs to ſee my Errour, and openly retract it; nor for want of an ordinary Diligence to know the Truth.

The Sum of our difference, as far as I can underſtand you, is in theſe particulars.

I. Whether there be no ſin impoſed by the Laws or Canons on Miniſters and People here?

II. Whether it was well done by the Biſhops and other Clergy-Men to do what they did to cauſe thoſe Laws, which ſilenced the whole Miniſtry of *England*, unleſs they would conform to all things ſo impoſed in the Act of Uniformity; and actually ſilenced about 2000, and made thoſe other Laws againſt their Preaching to more than Four, and againſt coming within Five Miles of Corporations, and ſuch others, as adjudge Nonconformiſts to Gaols and Ruine; and whether the Clergy do well ſtill to urge the Execution of thoſe Laws, and are guiltleſs of the doleful Diviſions of this Land, and danger of its Relapſe to Popery?

III. Whether it be unpeaceable for a Nonconformiſt after 17 years ſilent ſuffering, to tell his Superiors why he dare not conform, when he is by them importuned to it? And to write a Confutation of a multitude of Volumns of falſe Accuſations brought to juſtifie the Executions?

§ 4. If you think you have proved all thoſe Impoſitions ſinleſs which I have mentioned in my firſt *Plea for Peace*, I think you might as well have ſhortly ſaid, [*We Biſhops are of ſo much Wiſdom and Authority, that you muſt hold them lawful, becauſe we ſay ſo.*] And muſt all be ruined that would not be ſo convinced? But if any of thoſe Impoſitions prove to be ſin, and ſo great ſin as we cannot chuſe but think they are, is it a greater fault to name them (when importuned) than to impoſe them? And a greater fault to feel, and ſay we feel, than to ſtrike or wound men?

If we had taken it to be our Duty to have called thoſe Clergy-Men to Repentance, which we think are ignorantly undoing themſelves and the Land, how ſhould we do it without naming

naming their Sin? Yea, and the greatneſs of it? And if we think it our Duty to deprecate our Deſtruction, and beg of you to ſpare our Lives or Conſciences, how can we do it without telling what we ſuffer? If it be well done of you, and be no perſecution, but your Duty for the Churches good, (as no doubt the Executioners think) the Hiſtory is your praiſe, and you need not extenuate the Fact: Valiant Souldiers glory in the multitudes they kill: Had you ſilenced the other 7000 that conformed, when you ſilenced but 2000, your Victory had been the more famous. Some think thoſe that are here againſt your ways, are not half the Land; were it murdering of one man, that another is judged for, it were not unpeaceableneſs to ſay, that he deſerveth to be hanged: But the judge deſerveth praiſe if he condemn an hundred ſuch. But when thoſe men who ſhould be the tendereſt Peace-makers, and skilfulleſt therein, ſhall be the men that bring ſuch a Land as this into the Caſe that we are in, and will not be intreated, nor by any Experience be perſuaded to conſent to its Relief, I know not how to ſhew mercy to the Land or them, but by perſuading them to repent. And if all ſin were made a matter of Controverſie, and many learned men were for it, this would not alter the Caſe with me. If I may compare great things with ſmall, who ſinned more? The *Iriſh* for murdering 200000, or Sir *John Temple*, Dr. *Henry Jones*, the E. of *Orery*, for recording and reporting what they did? Was it the ſin of the *Savoyards* and others to kill and ruine the Proteſtants in *Piedmont*? Or of *Perrin*, and Sir *Sam. Mooreland* to write the ſtory? Did *Thuanus*, *Davilah*, &c. ſin in recording the *French* Maſſacre? Or the *French* in doing it? Is it the *French* Proteſtants now that are criminal for deſcribing and complaining of their Sufferings? Was *John Foxe* the Malefactor for writing the Sufferings of the Proteſtants under a lawful Queen? This day came out (*Mar.* 10.) a Narrative from *Briſtol* how they are crowded in the Gaol on the cold ground, *&c.* Is the Report the Crime? Do you find a Juſtification in humane nature of ſuch terms as theſe, [*You ſhall ſuffer whatever we will inflict on you, but ſhall not tell any that you are hurt, or who did it, or why?*]

§ 5. I have told the World ſo often over and over, that it is not all the Conformiſts, no nor all the Biſhops that I impute our Sufferings to, that I muſt ſuppoſe you to underſtand it, ſpecially when the Prefatory Epiſtle of the Book which you fall upon tells

tells it you of many Bishops by name. Therefore when *p.* 68. you say, [*I apply to you more than once,* 1 Thes. 2. 15. *They please not God,* &c.] and add, [*I believe in my Conscience he is mistaken.*] Either by [*to us*] you mean, all the Conformists or Bishops, and that is *not true,* as the words tell you: Or you mean, [*Us that procured or own, and execute the aforesaid silencing, afflicting Acts:*] which your words seem to mean. And then I do but say, Oh! What may temptation bring even good mens Judgment to? Is the silencing of 2000, the afflicting of many times more of the Laity, the Jealousies, Distractions, and Dangers of this Land, so small a matter, or so good, that *God is not displeased with it?* And can you in *your Conscience* own what the Bishops did towards it? No wonder then if Ceremonies be called *things Indifferent.* Certainly *this cannot* be *Indifferent?* It is a most *meritorious* or *excellent* work, or else a *heinous Crime*: It is either such a Cure as the cutting off a Cancerous Breast, or else if it be a sin, it must be as great as contributing to the endangering of as many score Thousand Souls as 2000 Ministers were likely to have helpt to save, and to the corrupting of the Church, and the Introduction of Popery. And few Christians think that *Nathan* sinned by unpeaceableness more than *David* by Murder and Adultery, though but once; or *Samuel* more than *Saul*; or the Prophet that reproved him more than *Jeroboam*; or Christ *Matth.* 23. more than the Pharisees; yea, or than *Peter, Mat.* 16. when he said, *Get behind me Satan, thou savourest not the things that be of God*; or *Paul* more than *Peter, Gal* 2. or than the Jewish Teachers, whom he called the *Concision* & *Dogs*; or *John* than *Diotrephes*, &c.

Guilt is tender, and they that think God is of their Mind when he is silent, *Psal.* 50. 21. will think men should be so too. And man dare not bid defiance to God, and openly proclaim a War against him, and therefore hath no way to sin in peace, but by a conceited bringing the Mind and Law of God to his. What sin is there that Learned Men father not on God: And then they must be praised and not reproved, and then it's worse than unpeaceable to aggravate that which they say God owneth; such men as I, would think it scarce credible that the *Spanish* Inquisition, the *French* Massacre, the Powder-Plot, the Murder of 200000 in *Ireland*, the Perjuring of a Nation, the silencing of Thousands of faithful Ministers, should have one word of Justification

fication ever ſpoken for it. But we are miſtaken: No doubt men can write learned Volumes to defend any of theſe; and if one do but ſay, *They pleaſe not God*, men may be found that can ſay, [*I believe in my Conſcience that you are miſtaken, and ſpeak unpeaceably: God is pleaſed with it all.*] Sure the day of Judgment will be much to juſtifie God himſelf, who is thus ſlandered as the Friend of every mans Sin. What wonder is it if there be numerous Religions in the World, when every ſelfiſh man maketh a God and a Religion of his own, fitted to his Intereſt and Mind? But when all men center onely in one God, and bring *their* Minds to *his*, and not conceitedly *his* to *theirs*, we may yet be One.

And if we could make men know, that *God is not for them*, and accepteth not of a Sacrifice of Innocent Blood, however men think that they do him *good Service*, yet they would not have this known: It's long ſince unhumbled Sinners turned Church-Confeſſion into Auricular; If *Saul* do ſay at laſt, *I have ſinned*, he would yet be honoured before the People. But the time is near when thoſe that honour God he will honour, and thoſe that deſpiſe him ſhall be lightly eſteemed.

Few men living can eaſier bear with others for different forms and Ceremonies than I; but I take not the ſilencing and ruining of 2000 Miniſters for Ceremonies (were that the worſt of it) to be a Ceremony.

§ 6. *Pag.* 69. You ſay, *We are not all of one mind yet*: A ſad word from a Biſhop. Do you think that any two Men on Earth are of one mind in all things? Were thoſe agreed whom *Paul* perſuadeth, *Rom.* 14. to *receive each other, but not to doubtful Diſputations*, and not to *judge* or *deſpiſe* each other, (much leſs to ſilence, impriſon, and deſtroy.) We are agreed in all that is conſtitutive of Chriſtianity, and agreed that all Chriſtians ſhould love others as themſelves, and do as they would be done by. I confeſs if you have ſuch eminent *Self-denial*, as to be willing, if ever you differ from the publick Impoſitions, about the lawfulneſs of any one thing, to be not only caſt out of your Lordſhip and Biſhoprick, but to be ſilenced, impriſoned and deſtroyed, I cannot accuſe you of *Partiality* but of *Errour*. I have known too many Conformiſts who needed no Biſhop to ſilence them, (they never preached.) But that will not juſtifie their deſires that others be ſilenced.

I have

I have oft enough told you in how many things the Conformists are disagreed: I now say the Bishops themselves are not agreed of the very *Species* of the *Church of England:* To say nothing of their disagreement of the *Constitutive, national Head* or *Governour*; they are not agreed, *whether it be only a part of an universal, humane, political Church, subject to an universal humane supream Power, who hath the right of Legislation and judgment over them, or whether it be a compleat national Church of it self,* a part only of the universal as Headed by Christ, but not as by Man, or as humane Politie, having no foreign Governour, Monarchical or Aristocratical, (Pope or Council.)

Overdoing is *illdoing* and *undoing*. He that would make such a Law of Concord, as that none shall live out of Prison who are not of the same Age, Complexion, Appetite, and Opinion, would depose the King, by leaving him no Subjects. The Inquisition is set up in Love of Unity: But we know that we shall differ while we know but in part: Only the perfect World hath perfect Concord. I greatly rejoice in that Concord which is among all that truly love God. They love one another, and agree in all that is necessary to Salvation: The Church of the Conformists is all agreed for *Crossing* and the *Surplice*, and for the *Imposed Oaths, Professions and Covenants*: Oh that all our Parishioners who plead for the Church were agreed that the *Gospel is true*, and that Christ is not a Deceiver, and that Man dyeth not as Dogs, but hath a Life of future Retribution.

§7. *P.* 69. Asking, [*Were not almost all the* Westminster *Assembly Episcopal Conformable men when they came thither?*] He can say, [*No, not in their hearts, as appeared by their fruits.*] And he cites some words of the sense of the Parliament, *Jun.* 12. 1643.

Ans. 1. See here a Bishop that knew the hearts of hundreds of men, whom he never saw, to be contrary to their Profession and constant Practice.

2. And he can prove by their reporting the Parliaments words what was these Ministers own Judgment.

3. And he can prove by those words in *Jun.* 1643. what was their Judgment a Year or two before, and is sure that the *Scots* Arguments did not change them.

4. And he can prove that those are no Episcopal Conformists who are for the ancient Episcopacy only (described by Bishop *Usher*,) and

and take the *Engliſh* frame to be only lawful, but not *unalterable*, or *beſt*. And if really he do take him to be no *Epiſcopal Conformiſt*, who is for enduring any way but their own, it is he and not I that gave them ſo bad a Character: It is he and not I that intimateth, that thoſe moderate Conformiſts who had rather Church-Government were reformed, than ſuch Confuſion made by ſilencing and hunting Chriſtians, are at the Heart no *Epiſcopal Conformiſts*: Their Hearts I confeſs much differ from the Silencers and Hunters.

§ 8. He maketh me a falſe Hiſtorian for *fixing the War on the Eraſtian Party in Parliament*. *Anſ.* Did I lay it only on the Eraſtians? Have I not undeniably proved that the War here began between two Epiſcopal Parties? Of which one part were of A. Bp. *Abbots*, Mr. *Hookers*, and the generality of the Biſhops and Parliaments mind, and the other of Bp. *Lauds*, *Sibthorps*, *Maynwarings*, *Heylins*, A. Bp. *Bromhalls*, &c. mind: And the firſt ſort ſome of them thought Epiſcopacy *Jure Divino*; but the *Engliſh* Frame not unreformable: And the other ſort thought it was but *Jure humano*, and theſe were called by ſome Eraſtians. Let him give me leave to produce my Hiſtorical proofs, even to ſingle men by name, that the *Engliſh* War began between theſe two Parties, and I defie all his falſe Contradiction: Only ſuppoſing, 1. That I ſpeak not of the King, nor of the War in *Ireland* or *Scotland*. 2. That I grant that the Nonconformiſts were moſt for the Parliament, and the Papiſts moſt againſt them.

But when I have ſaid ſo much to Mr. *Hinkley* already to prove this, did this Lord Biſhop think to be believed without confuting it?

§ 9. But it tranſcendeth all bounds of Hiſtorical credibility, that he anſwereth this by ſaying, [*He and all his Abettors muſt know the Catalogues of that Parliament, and that Aſſembly are ſtill in our hands, the Copies of their Speeches, and Journals of their Votes*, &c.] *Anſ.* They are ſo to the Shame of ſuch Hiſtorians. You have many of them in *Whitlocks* Memorials; I knew ſo great a number my ſelf of the Parliament, Aſſembly, and Army, as makes me pitty the Ignorant World, which is abuſed by ſuch Hiſtorians as you and yours.

§ 10. As for your aſſuring me that *you look one day to anſwer for all you ſay*, it minds me of the words of your Dr. *Aſheton*,

Chaplain to the Duke of *Ormond*, who *(as going to the Bar of God) undertakes to prove, that it is through Pride and Covetousness that we conform not.* The Inquisitors also believe a day of Judgment. And what is it that some men do not confidently ascribe to the most holy God?

§ 11. Your praises of me are above my desert: I am worse than you are aware of: But mens sins against Christs Church and Servants in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* are never the less for that.

§ 12. You shew us that you are *deceived* before you *deceive*: You do but lead others into the way of falshood which you were led into your self, when you say, I am [*said to have asserted, that a man might live without any actual Sin.*] A Lord Bishop (*Morley* p. 13.) told it you, and you a Lord Bishop tell it others, and thus the poor World hath been long used; so that of such Historians men at last may grow to take it for a valid Consequence, [*It is written by them*: Ergo *it is incredible.*] I tell you first in general, that I have seen few Books in all my Life, which in so few Sheets have so many Falshoods in matters of Fact done before many, as that Letter of Bishop *Morley*'s; which upon your Provocation I would manifest, by Printing my Answer to him, were it not for the charges of the Press.

2. And as to your Instance, the case was this: Dr. *Lany* impertinently talkt of our being *justified only by the Act of Faith, and not the Habit*: I askt him whether we are unjustified in our sleep? which led us further, and occasioned me to say to some Objection of his, that *men were not always doing moral Acts good or evil:* and thence, [*that a man is not always actually sinning*, viz. *In a mans sleep, he may live sometimes and not actually sin; as also in an Apoplexy and other loss of Reason.*] Hence the credible Bishop *Morley* printed that I said, *A man may live without any actual Sin*: Yea, and such other Reasons are given for his forbidding me to preach the Gospel. And now another pious L. Bp. *going to answer it at Judgment*, publisheth it as from him. O what a World is this, and by what hands are we cast down? Is my Assertion false or doubtful? Dr. *Bates* and Dr. *Jacombe* who were present are yet both living. By such men and means is the Church as it is: Arise O Lord and save it from them.

§ 13. You tell me, as Bp. *Morley*, of being the *top of a faction of my own making, neither Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent*,

dent, or Erastian. *Anſ.* So, to be againſt all Faction is to be the top of a Faction: I am neither anArian, nor a Sabellian, nor an Apollinarian, nor a Macedonian, nor a Neſtorian, or Eutychian, or Monothelite, or a Papiſt, *&c.* Conclude *ergo* I am the top of a new Hereſie, and ſilence and impriſon me for it, and your Dioceſane Conformity will be paſt all ſuſpicion (even at the heart.) But you will one day know, that to be againſt all Faction, and yet to bear with the Infirmities of the weak, and love all Chriſtians as ſuch, is a way that had a better Author.

§ 14. *P.* 73, 74. As to your extolled Friend a *Nonconformiſt*, who you ſay, told you that [*I am not able to bear being gainſaid in any thing, for want of Academick Diſputes*, &c.

Anſ. 1. Was your great Friend ſo excellent a man, and was it a good work to ſilence him, with which in your Conſcience you think *God is pleaſed?*

2. Now you name him not, he cannot contradict you: Mr. *Bagſhaw* ſaid ſomthing like it of Mr. *Herle*, Prolocutor of the Aſſemblie, which his Acquaintance contradict.

3. I juſtifie not my Patience; it is too little: But verily if you had ſilenced me alone, and Gods Church and Thouſands of Souls had been ſpared, I think you had never heard me twice complain. Judge you whether I can endure to be gainſaid, when I think there are Forty Books written againſt me by Infidels, Socinians, Papiſts, Prelatiſts, Quakers, Seekers, Antinomians, Anabaptiſts, Sabbatarians, Separatiſts, and ſome Presbyterians, Independents, Eraſtians, Politicians, *&c.* which for the far greateſt part I never anſwered, though ſome of them written by Prelatiſts and Papiſts have ſpoken fire and Sword: Nor to my Remembrance did any or all theſe Books by troubling me ever break one hour of my ſleep, nor ever grieve me ſo much as my own ſin and pain (which yet was never extream) have grieved me one day. Alas Sir! How light a thing is the contradiction or reproach of man who is ſpeaking and dying almoſt at once?

§ 15. *P.* 75. As to my *Political Aphoriſms* I have oft told you I wiſh they had never been written: But all in them is not wrong which Biſhops are againſt. The firſt paſſage challenged by your Biſhop *Morley* is, *My calling a pretence to unlimited Monarchy by the name of Tyranny*, adding my reaſon, *becauſe they are limited by God who is over all.* Miniſters were never under Turks thought worthy of puniſhment for ſuch an Aſſertion: But Bi-

shop *Morley* is no Turk. If Monarchs be not limited by God, they may command all their Subjects to deny God, or blaspheme him, to take Perjury, Murder, and Adultery, for Duties: and they are unwise if ever they will be sick, die, or come to Judgment.

§ 16. You say, [" *I was told by a Reverend Prelate, that at* " *the Conference at the* Savoy, *Mr.* Baxter *being demanded what* " *would satisfie him, replied, All or Nothing: On this I reflected* " *on what that grave Divine told me.*]

Ans. Alas good man! if for all other your historical notices you are faln into such hands, what a mass of Untruths is in your Brain? But why will you dishonour Reverend Prelates so much as to father them on such? I never heard the question put [*What will satisfie you?*] nor any such answer as *All or Nothing*: When the King commissioned us to treat of such *Alterations as were necessary to tender Consciences*, the Bishops, 1. Would not treat till we would *give them in writing all that we blamed in the Liturgy, and all the Alterations we would have, and all the additional Forms we desired.* 2. When thus constrained, we offered these on supposition, that on Debate much of it would be denied us, or altered; but they would not vouchsafe us any Debate on what we offered, nor a word against our *additional Forms*, *Reply*, or *Petition for Peace.* 3. To the last hour they maintained, that *No alteration at all was necessary to tender Consciences.*] And so they ended, and the Convocation doubled and trebled our Burden, and the Bishops in Parliament together.

Once Bishop *Cousins* desired us to lay by *Inconveniences*, and name only what we took for *downright Sin*. I gave him a Paper describing *Eight such*: We did but begin to debate one of them, (*Casting such from the Communion of Christs Church that dare not take the Sacrament kneeling, though they be mistaken*) and our time ended.

Dr. *Pierce* undertook to prove it a Mercy to them to deny them the Sacrament; and he made a motion to me, that he and I might go about the Land to preach men into satisfaction and Conformity: I asked him how I could do that when they intended to silence me? For though I scrupled not kneeling at the Sacrament, if they made any one Sin the condition of my Ministry, I should be silenced, though they abated all the rest. It may be this went for [*All or Nothing.*] And I am sorry that

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the Bishops be not of the same mind: St. *James* was, that said, *He that breaketh one is guilty of all*: And Christ was, who said, *He that breaketh one of the least of these commands, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the Kingdom of God.*

So that it was not *All Inconveniences*, but *All flat Sins* that we craved in vain to have been exempted from: Much less was it the *Establishment* of all that we proposed to have been *treated* of, openly professing our selves ready to alter any thing amiss or needless upon treaty, and supposing there would be many such words: But they would not touch our offered additions, nor entertain any treaty about them.

And now pitty your self who have been drawn to believe such Reverend Prelates as you say, and pitty such as your Writings will deceive.

§ 17. That you take it to be contrary to a Christian temper to be sensible of the Sufferings of the Church, and to name and describe the sin that causeth them, and that but in a necessitated Apology for the Sufferers, is no wonder, the Reasons and your Answer I gave you before § 4. and 5. I think it no breach of Peace with Persecutors or Silencers, to tell them what they do, especially when the Sufferers are feigned to deserve it all; and not to sin and that deliberately, is made a sin deserving all that we suffer and the Nation by it.

§ 18. But *p.* 77. tells us yet more whence your Errours come, even by believing false Reports, and then reporting what you believe. You say, [*Some People have talked of a Combination or Pact amongst themselves, that except they might have their own Will throughout, they would make the World know what a breach they could make, and how considerable they were.*]

Ans. 1. Do you not think that *Rogers*, *Bradford*, *Philpot*, and the rest, did so in Qu. *Maries* days, and that it was they that made the Breach by being burnt? What is it that such Historians may not say? So *Luther* was taught by the Devil, *Bucer* was killed by the Devil, so was *Oecolampadius*, *Calvin* was a stigmatized Sodomite, and what not: And even the most publick things are yet uncertain before our Eyes: *Godfrey* killed himself: The Papists had no Plot: The Presbyterians have a Plot against the King: The Nonconformists silenced themselves: And did not the Citizens of *London* burn their own Houses? When you that are a Bishop cite other great Bishops for such things as

you

you do, may it not come in time to be the *Faith of the Church*, and thence to be *neceſſary* to all.

2. But how do you think all theſe that were ſcattered all over *England*, and knew not one another by name or Dwelling, ſhould ſo confederate?

3. Do but think of it as a man. There were Nine or Ten Thouſand Miniſters that had conformed to the Parliaments way in poſſeſſion: They were all to conform or be caſt out. The Book and Act of Uniformity came not out of the Preſs till about that very day *Aug.* 24. Neither Conformiſts, nor (after) Nonconformiſts could ſee it, but thoſe in or near *London*: What time was there to tell them all over *England* in one day? How knew we who would conform and who would not, when Nine Thouſand were equally in Poſſeſſion? If we had written to them all, would not One Thouſand of our Letters have detected it? Or at leaſt ſome of thoſe that conformed, with whom we prevailed not?

4. What was it that moved them all to this Confederacy? To ſuffer Ruine in the World? To *make themſelves conſiderable you ſay, and ſhew what a Breach they could make?* And for what? *Unleſs they might have all their own Wills?* And what was their Will? Was it to be Lord Biſhops? Or domineer over any? Or to get great Benefices? I think no high-way Robbers do any Villanies meerly to ſhew what miſchief they can do, much leſs ruine themſelves to ſhew that they can do Miſchief by Suffering. Some ſuch thing is ſaid of ſome odd Circumcellians that they killed themſelves to make others thought their Perſecutors: But Perſecution was more hated then than now. Did the former Life and Doctrine of theſe Two Thouſand men ſignifie a Spirit ſo much worſe than the reſt?

5. And do you think that the other Seven Thouſand or Eight Thouſand that conformed did confederate beforehand to conform? How could they do it who declared Aſſent and Conſent to every thing contained and preſcribed in and by the Book which they never ſaw, unleſs they confederated at a venture, to do whatever was impoſed? And if Seven Thouſand could agree without confederating, why not Two Thouſand? I could not then have my Poſt Letters paſs without Interception: And it's a wonder that no Letter of this Confederacy was taken.

And I'le tell (not you, but thoſe that believe me) how far we were from it. When we were all caſt out and ſome new motion

tion was made for our ſervice, one weak man moved here, that we might draw up a conſenting Judgment to how much we could yield, that we might not differ. I anſwered that it was not our buſineſs to make a Faction, or to ſtrengthen a Party; nor were we *all of one judgment* about *every Ceremony*, and therefore no man muſt go againſt his judgment for a Combination with the reſt: If they would abate but ſo much as any one mans Conſcience would be ſatisfied in, that one man muſt ſerve the Church accordingly. And if any were taken in, the reſt would rejoyce.] This Anſwer ſilenced that motion, and I never heard any move it more: And I am fully aſſured there was never ſuch a Combination.

But with this exception: How far any thought the Covenant bound them againſt our Prelacy I cannot tell. Thoſe that I convers'd with ſaid, it bound them to no more than they were bound to before. But I confeſs we did all confederate in our Baptiſm, againſt willful ſin: And I know of no other Confederacies but theſe: which indeed was enough to make all men forbear what they judged to be ſinful.

§ 19. You add, ["*But yet it is not fair to over-reckon knowingly, and in ordinary courſe Two Hundred in the ſum, as Mr.* Baxter *and others do*, p. 155, 210. *thereby to ſwell the account to the greater* odium, *by complaining roundly Two Thouſand: This I muſt conclude to be done knowingly, for ſomtimes he only mentions One Thouſand Eight Hundred*, p. 151, &c.]

Anſ. I am perſuaded that it is not knowingly that you ſpeak ſo much beſides the truth; but for want of knowing what and whom you talk of. I never medled with gathering the number, Mr. *Calamy* did, and ſhewed us a Liſt of 1800, upon which I long mentioned no more, and ſeldom ſaw him afterward: But Mr. *Ennis* who was more with him, aſſuring me that they had after an account of at leaſt 200 more, who were omitted; I ſometime to ſpeak the leaſt mention the 1800, and ſometime ſay about 2000, and by his laſt account that was the leaſt. Yet with a Lord Biſhop that knoweth nothing of all this, I *knowingly over-reckon*: But if *God be pleaſed* with their ſilencing, why do you take this ill?

§ 20. The next and great Accuſation is my *extenuating the Biſhops Clemency, and aggravating our Sufferings, and that againſt my Conſcience I impute to the Biſhops that bloodineſs which they never*

ver intended but abhor. And he will not believe what I say of the death of any by Imprisonment or want.

Ans. The good Lady that pittied the Beggars when she came in out of the Frost and Snow, when she had warmed her self, chid them away, and said, it was warm enough. I could name you those in *London*, that travelled out of the North in great want, and took up with such cold Lodgings here in great want of all things, that they were past cure before their misery was known. How many poor Quakers have dyed in Prison many know: It's like you never heard of the death of Mr. *Field*, a worthy Minister, in the *Gate-house*; nor of Mr. *Thompson* in the noisome Prison at *Bristol*, nor of Reverend Mr. *Hughes* of *Plimouth*'s Death, caused by his Prison sickness; perhaps you never read the Life, Sufferings, and Death of excellent *Joseph Allen* of *Taunton*: I will not be the gatherer of a larger Catalogue, But I believe some others will. But these you *know not of.*

§ 21. The words in my Book which I speak argumentatively, shewing clearly whither their cause will lead them, if they trust to bring us to Unity by force, you unworthily feign that I speak as accusing the Bishops Inclinations. My Argument was, *If you think by violence to effect your ends, it must be either by changing mens judgments, or by forcing them as Hypocrites to go against their judgments, or else by utter destroying them till there are no Dissenters: But none of these three ways will do it*: Ergo *Violence will not do it.* 1. I prove that force will not change their Judgments. 2. I prove they are such men as will rather suffer death than sin against their Consciences; and so less Sufferings which cure not do but exasperate the Disease. 3. I prove that if, when less doth no good, you would destroy them, that would not do your work but cross it. And doth this signifie that I charge the Bishops with bloody purposes? They openly tell us that it's *punishing* us that must bring us to Concord. I tell them, *Lesser will not do it, and greater will but hurt themselves.* A man would think that I hereby rather infer that Bishops *will not be bloody*, than that *they will*, when I argue *ab incommodo.* Truly Sir, I see nothing in your Book which tempted me to lament, that I mist the happiness of your Academical Education or Disputes: Nor do I envy those that now enjoy it. God save his Church from the worser part of them.

§ 21. You say, *p.* 79. You *must needs look on my aggravating*

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my own and the Diſſenters Sufferings beyond Truth, you are ſure beyond Probability, to have proceeded from want of temper. As for ſaying that ſome *have lived on brown Bread and Water.*

Anſ. I find ſtill that our difference lieth in matter of Fact, done in the open ſight of the World: And if it were whether we are *Engliſh*-men, I have no hope of ending it! O what is Hiſtory! My own Sufferings by them are very ſmall, ſave the hindering of my Labour: Leave to work is all the Preferment that ever I deſired of them: What I have had hath been againſt their Wills, who have called out for my greater reſtraint. God hath enabled me by the Charity of others to ſend ſome ſmall relief to a few of thoſe whoſe Caſe he will not believe. Some of them have Seven or Eight Children, and nothing at all of their own to maintain them, and live in Countries where ſcarce two Gentlemen of Eſtates within their reach do befriend them; and the People are generally poor; and many of theſe have none to preach to, being not permitted, And when they attempted to meet with ſome few ſecretly, to faſt and pray in ſome caſe of need, have had their few Goods carryed away by Diſtreſs. Good Alderman *Aſhhurſt*, now with Chriſt, took care of many, and hath ſhewed me Letters and Certificates of undoubted credit, in the very words which I named. One is now near us, that was put to get his Living by Spinning. Mr. *Chadwick* was the laſt of whom I read thoſe words in a juſt certificate, that he and his Children had long lived on meer brown Rye Bread and Water. It is now above a dozen Years ſince Dr. *Vermuxden* told me that Mr. *Matthew Hill* was his Patient, with Hydropical ſwell'd Legs, with drinking Water and uſing anſwerable Food through meer Poverty: But God turned it to good; for neceſſity drove him (when a little ſtrengthened) to *Mary-Land*, where he hath been almoſt the only able Miniſter they have. We that know them our ſelves, and beg Money to relieve them, are ſuppoſed to be Lyars: for telling that which all their Neighbours know. Through Gods Mercy few in *London* ſuffer ſo much, (though divers are in great ſtreights.) But great numbers in the Countrys who live among the poor, had not ſome of them now and then a little Relief from *London*, were like to beg for Bread, or fall into mortal Diſeaſes by Food unfit for Nature. Even in *London* they that knew Mr. *Farnworth*, Mr. *Spinage*, and ſome others, and how they lived and dyed, underſtand me, I'le name Mr. *Mar-*

*Dead since the writing of this.

tin formerly of *Weedon*, *very poor in *London*, to tell you of your impartiality; though he lost one Arm in the Kings Army, he had not a day abated him in *Warwick* Gaol for preaching.

§ 22. As to his repeating all my mention of their dealings, and my blaming the Bishops at the *Savoy* for our present divisions, and my aggravating the evils which Violence will produce if they trust to that way, I judge it all necessary to be spoken: Unknown sin will not be repented of nor forborn; nor unknown danger prevented; nor the unknown needs of the Peoples Souls relieved.

He asketh, *Is this the way to be at Peace with us?* I answer, There is no other way: What Peace can we have with them that think they are bound to silence us, and keep us six Months in Gaol for every Sermon, and so on for the next, and for the next? Or to pay 40 *l.* a Sermon, and to banish us five Miles from Corporations, and must not be told of any such thing? He was not unpeaceable that said, *He that seeth his Brother have need and shutteth up the Bowels of Compassion from him, how dwelleth the Love of God in him?* Nor for saying, *He that hateth his Brother is a Murtherer*: Nor Christ for telling us how he will judge them that did not relieve and visit him in his little ones; and how he will use him that beat his Fellow-Servants. It is with you and not with your sins that we would have peace. Not only *Massonius* and *Platina*, but even *Genebrard*, and *Baronius* speak far sharplier of the faults of many Popes themselves, and all Historians of their Prelates, and yet are taken to be peaceable men. Either those that I mentioned will repent here or hereafter, and then will say far worse of themselves than I do. And may I not foretel it them, when it is but in necessitated deprecation of the miseries of the Land?

§ 23. One of their Champions wrote that he was *not bound to deny his own Liberty, because others would pievishly take scandal at it.* I shewed the sinfulness of that Conclusion, and that a mans Liberty often lay in as small a matter as a game at Chess, a Pipe of Tobacco, or a Cup of Sack: and most scandal is taken by pievish persons: and yet even a pievish mans Soul is not to be set as light by as such things. Christ and *Paul* made more of Scandal: And this very arguing of mine is numbred with my unpeaceable distempered words.

§ 24. As to his talk about our Controversies of passages in Conformity

Conformity, he confeſſeth that he hath not read my *Plea for Peace*, in which I have partly opened them: And much leſs what I have ſaid ſince of them to divers others; and I confeſs I have neither mind or leiſure to ſay all over again in Print, upon the occaſions of ſuch words as his, which have been oft anſwered.

§ 25. I named the Martyr-Biſhops *Hooper*, *Ridley*, &c. as Nonconformiſts to the Laws of their Perſecutors, to ſhew that ſuch Sufferers leave a ſweeter name than their Perſecutors; and he feigneth me to have made them Nonconformiſts to our Laws, and ſaith, [*Ingenuity and Chriſtian Veracity would bluſh to own this Art.*] Thus ſtill falſe Hiſtory is that which aſſaulteth us.

But I humbly ask his Lordſhip, 1. Whether he think that *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, were more for Conformity than *Jewel*, *Bilſon*, and *Hooker*, and *Abbot*? And 2. Whether he will ſo far reproach theſe men as to ſay, that *Jewel*, *Bilſon*, and *Hooker* would have conformed by approving that which they moſt expreſly wrote againſt? I have oft enough tranſcribed their words.

§ 26. To ſhew that ſince my expulſion I drew not the People of *Kiderminſter* from the Biſhops, I ſaid that I [*never ſince came near them, nor except very rarely ſent them one Line*; which he pretends I contradict, by ſaying, *I ſent them all the Books I wrote.* One might have found hiſtorical errours enough in his words without a Rack or Quibble. 1. Sure Books are ſomwhat rarelier written than Letters. 2. An ordinary Wit would have underſtood that I ſpoke of *one Line* of Manuſcript, or one Letter, and not of Printed Books, I delivered them to Mr *Simmons*, or their Neighbours to ſend them without Letters. And few of thoſe Books were written before this Apology.

§ 27. As a Self-contradicter he ſaith of me, *ſomtime I am againſt all Subſcribing*, as *p.* 60, 113. &c. *and ſometimes not.*

Anſ. Still untruth! *P.* 60. The words are [*If men were not driven ſo much to ſubſcribe and ſwear as they are at this day.*] Reader, is it true that this is *againſt All Subſcribing*?

Pag. 113. The words are, [*If we had learned the trick of ſpeaking, writing, and ſwearing in univerſal terms, and meaning not univerſally but particularly, as many do, we could ſay, or ſubſcribe, or ſwear as far as you deſire us.*] And [*Take off the penalty*

of subscribing, declaring, crossing, &c. what good doth subscribing a Sentence which he believeth not?] Is this *against All Subscribing*?

§ 28. Whether to profess our tenderness of other mens Reputation, and yet to name the nature and aggravations of the sin which we fear our selves, when we are importuned to it, be contradictory, let the impartial judge.

§ 29. *P.* 92. He saith, as my judgment, [*To subscribe and declare, that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King, or that an unlawful Oath cannot bind men to unlawful Actions, is Perjury, some of the greatest that Hell suggesteth.*] *Ans.* Not one true word? I believe all this to be as he saith: Both in my first and second *Plea for Peace*, I have largly told him what it is, and what it is not which I own; but he hath seen neither. and yet feigneth me to say or hold what I have so oft renounced.

§ 30. *P.* 94. He might have known how oft in Print I have retracted the Book called, *The Holy Common-Wealth*, wishing the Reader to take it as *Non-scriptum*: Yet he saith, [*as far as is generally known I have not done it.*] And how should I make it generally known more than by oft Printing it?

§ 31. *P.* 95. He pittieth me for calling the Author of the *friendly Debate*, the *Debate maker*: And I pitty *England* for such pittiers.

§ 32. *P.* 96. Whereas the Convocation hath imposed on all Ministers a Profession of *undoubted certainty of the Salvation of dying baptized Infants*, without excepting those of Atheists or Infidels, I ask whether all the *young*, *unstudied* sort of Ministers have arrived at this *certainty* any more than I, and how they came by it? and crave their Communication of the ascertaining Evidence. And what doth his Lordship but pretend that I call the *Convocation* these *young*, *unstudied men*, as if they had made this Rubrick for none but themselves?

§ 33. And he hath found another fault which exceedeth all, and that is, the Title and Dedication of my *Methodus Theologiæ*, where I say, that I dedicate it not to the *slothful*, *hasty*, *tired Sectaries*, &c. but *to studious*, *ingenious*, *humble*, &c. *young men*, *as being the persons that are above all others born*, *disposed*, *consecrated to Truth*, *Holiness*, *and the Churches Peace*, &c.]. Exceeding bad!

Will

Will you hear the proof that this is exceſſive Pride? 1. *The Book in the front indirectly and ſlily calls the Reader, ſlothful, raſh, fooliſh*, &c. *Anſ.* Is this true? 1. It is only thoſe that I would *not* have to be the Readers. Yea, 2. Only thoſe that I ſay it is *not dedicated to.*

And do you think there are none ſuch in the world? Will not his foreſaid *Debater*, and Dr. *Parker*, and Dr. *Sherlock*, and abundance more, tell you that the Nonconformiſts are many of them ſuch, and will you now deny it? If not, am I bound to dedicate my Book to ſuch? By what Obligation?

But he ſaith ſo *voluminous* and *emboſt* a Title will deter the Readers. But do you not know the *Dedication* from the *Title*, only becauſe it is printed on the Title Page? Is that unuſual?

But the odious Arrogance followeth, [*Could any thing eaſily be ſaid with more (appearance of) Arrogance; in the very Title Page too, than that his Book is above all others of the ſame Subject, (I know not how otherwiſe to interpret his* ſupra omnes, *viz.* Methodus Theologiæ Chriſtianæ,] *&c. framed, diſpoſed and hallowed to the propagation and growth of Holineſs, to the Peace and Honour of the Church.*] *I will now for ever acquit him of hypocritical Modeſty.*

Anſ. I deſire Mr. *Morrice* to compare this Ld. Bp's Tranſlation with that overſight of *Theodoret*'s words which he faſteneth on in me. What if I had ſaid that this Biſhop knoweth not how to interpret a plain Latine Sentence, as he ſaith it of himſelf? That which I moſt expreſly ſay of *pious, ingenious Youth*, he feigneth me to ſay of *my Book*. Reader, look on the Book and judge whether *Methodus*, the Nominative Caſe ſingular, agree with *natæ, diſpoſitæ, conſecratæ*, the Dative Caſe, when *Juventutis Parti ſtudioſæ, ſedulæ*, with many other Datives, went before it: There are no leſs than Twelve Adjectives joined to *Parti* in the Dative Caſe, and yet he conſtrueth the three laſt a agreeing with the very firſt Title-name in the Nominative Caſe. And is this the way to make me lament my want of his Academical Education? Is it any wonder if theſe men prove us Liars and proud, and if they ſentence us for leſſer Crimes?

Yea, here he concludeth that I write [*ſo pieviſhly, ſo variouſly and unconſtantly to my ſelf, ſo blindly, as if willfully blind and not penitent of my own guilt, and ſo arrogantly, and diſdainfully*, &c.] You have heard the proof.

§ 34.

§ 34. *Pag.* 99. He proveth my *unpeaceableneſs* from the *Petition for Peace*, and *Additions to the Liturgy*: The Crime here is, [*There's not one Office, no not one Prayer of the old Liturgy*, and is ſtiled *A Reformation of the Liturgy, and little more than a Directory.*

Anſ. O miſerable World! What cure is there for thy Deceits? This good man talks as he hath heard, and ſo all goes on.

But 1. he knoweth not it ſeems what Title our Copy had, but judgeth by that which ſome body printed.

2. It ſeems he knoweth not that this Draught was only offered to debate, expecting abundance of Alterations: We openly declared that it was done on ſuppoſition of obliterating and altering all that they had any juſt exception againſt, were it but as *needleſs*. And for the clauſes, [*Theſe or the like words*] we profeſt, that we expected an Obliteration of them, but had rather the Biſhops did the impoſing part, if it muſt be done, than we.

3. He knew not it ſeems that ours were offered but as additional Forms, that ſuch of them as both ſides agreed on, might be mixt as *Alias*'s with the old Liturgy. And doth his Lordſhip then exclaim with reaſon, that [*Not one Office, not one Prayer of the old was in*, when all (after correction) was to be in, and none left out. Oh what is Hiſtory! and what men are its corrupters?

And (that his work may be homogeneal) *p.* 100, 101. having recited my Commendation of their Liturgy as better than any in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, he addeth as an Accuſation, [Yet *p.* 219. *he complains of ſuch failings in it, that* IT IS A WORSHIP *which we cannot in faith be aſſured God accepteth.*]

Reader, This is one of the leſſer ſort of deceiving Accuſations. I ſaid that (among greater ſins which we fear in our Conformity) we fear leaſt by Aſſent and Conſent to all things contained and preſcribed. *&c.* we ſhould be guilty of juſtifying all the failings in that worſhip, and alſo of *offering to God a Worſhip that we cannot in faith be aſſured that he accepteth.* This Lord ſo wordeth it, that the Reader who peruſeth not my words would verily think that I had ſaid this of the Liturgy in the ſubſtance of Worſhip there preſcribed, which I ſaid only as to the things which we dare not conform to: And I explained it by ſaying, [*We dare not juſtifie the beſt Prayer we put up to God in all things.*] *E. g.* To dedicate Infants to God without their Parents expreſt Dedication, or conſent, or their promiſe to educate them as

Chriſti-

Christians, and this upon the false covenanting of Godfathers that never owned them, nor ever mean to educate them as promised, (as is known by constant experience, neither they nor the Parents intending any such trust in the undertakers) and to dedicate them by the sacramental Sign of the Cross, or a badge of Christianity, and to refuse all that will not be thus baptised. This we fear is a worship that God will not accept. But is this therefore said of the substance of the Liturgy?

And if the Lord Bp. be wiser or bolder than we, and be beyond all such fears, should he not suffer Fools gladly, seeing he himself is wise? And if he like not our fearing an Oath, Subscription, Declaration, Covenant, or Practice, which he thinks to be true and good, and we think to be false and evil, why may he not endure our timorousness while he may rush on himself and venture; should he not rather pitty us, while St. *Paul* saith, *He that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not in Faith.*

§ 35. *P.* 108. He questions whether their communion be my practice: and *p.* 110. giveth me two friendly Councils. 1. To peruse my Books, and retract what's amiss. 2. To tell the World now my sober Thoughts, what I could and would do were I to begin the World again.

I heartily thank him for his Counsel, for it is good and honest. But alas, what a thing is it to write of things which men know not! 1. He knoweth not that I have retracted much already; partly by disowning, and partly by large Obliterations: Of the first sort are my *Aphor.* of Justification, and my *Polit. Aphorisms* (though not all that's in them.) Of the 2d he may see many and large Obliterations in my *Saints Rest*, my *Key for Catholicks*, &c.

2. He seemeth not to know what bloody Books, to prove me one of the worst men living, their Church Advocates have written against me, fetcht mainly from these retracted Books and Words. Nor how they that commend *Augustine*, reproach me as mutable for those Retractations.

3. It seemeth he knoweth not that I have already performed his second Advice, in my *Cure for Church-Divisions*, my *Second Plea for Peace*, (about *Government*) Yea, Bishop *Morley* before the King, Lords, and Bishops at *Worcester-house*, speaking of Ceremonies and Forms, caused my *Disputations of Church-Government*, produced and said, *No man hath written better than Mr.* Baxter, (as if it were against my self.) And in Doctrinals, my

my *Cathol. Theol.* and *Methodus Theol.* and *Christian Directory* have expressed my maturest, calmest thoughts. But he that counsels me to it knows not that it is already done. And more for Revising and Retractation I would do, if necessity did not divert me, even the want of time and strength.

§ 36. *P.* 115. You say. [*That Reverend and great man Bp.* Morley *tells us* [*the generality of Nonconforming Divines shewed themselves unwilling to enter on Dispute, and seemed to like much better another way, tending to an amicable and fair compliance, which was wholly frustrated by* ——— *a certain persons furious eagerness to engage in a Disputation.*] *This was it seems the sense of both sides at that time.*]

Ans. How far from Truth? It was the sense and Resolution of the reconciling Party, called by them Presbyterians: We all desired nothing but an amicable Treaty— We were promised by —— they should meet us half way. When we met, Bishop *Sheldon* declared the Agreement of his Party, that *till we had brought in all our Exceptions against the Liturgies, and our additional Forms, they would not treat with us.* Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Clark*, and others, would have taken that as a final Refusal, and meddled no more, left Dispute should do more harm than good: I was against such an untimely end, and said, *They will report that we had nothing to say: It's better let the case be seen in writing, than so break off.* The rest wrote the *Exceptions* about the Liturgies: some Agent of the Bishops answered them without the least concession for alteration at all. I wrote a *Reply*, and the *Additional Forms*, and a *Petition to the Bishops*, and they would treat of never a one of them: But at the end, put us to dispute to prove *any Alteration necessary*, they maintaining *that none at all was necessary to the ease of tender Consciences.* (Of which before.)

§ 37. I had thought to have proceeded, but truly the work which the Bishop maketh me is so unpleasant, almost all about the truth or Falshood of notorious matter of Fact, that I have more Patience to bear his Accusations (whatever his learned Friend said of my impatience) than to follow him any further at this rate. But whereas he saith, that [*some will think that many things in his Book want truth.*] I am one of those, and leave it to the Readers Judgment whether they judge not truly: And whereas he lays so much stress on Bp. *Morley's* words, if any Printer shall be at the charge of Printing it, I purpose while he and the Witnesses are yet alive, to publish the Answer to his Letter, which I cast by to avoid Displeasure. And if they will still be deceived, let them be deceived. I cannot help it.

It is no wonder that he that is described, *Joh.* 8. 44. should carry on his Kingdom accordingly in the World: But must his Dial be set on the Steeple of Christs Church, and have a consecrated Finger for its Index? O lamentable Case!

FINIS.

DIOCESAN CHURCHES

NOT

Yet Discovered in the Primitive Times.

OR

A Defence of the Answer to Dr. *Stillingfleets* Allegations out of Antiquity for such Churches.

Against the Exceptions offered in the Preface to a late Treatise called a Vindication of the Primitive Church.

WHERE

What is further produced out of Scripture and Antient Authors for Diocesan Churches is also Discussed.

David Clarkson

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurst* at the Bible and three Crowns at the lower end of *Cheap-side* near *Mercers Chappel* 1682.

Errata.

PAge 59. l. 4. r. Sirmond. p. 67. l. 33. r. to. p. 76. r. Euodius. p. 80. l. 14. r. oratorum. p. 86. l. 16. r. Congregations. p. 87. l. 27. r. Bishops. p. 95. l. 2. r. διαπτωσις, p. ult. l. 9. r. less. besides mis-accenting some Greek words, and other mis-pointings.

THE PREFACE.

DIſſenters *are accuſed of* Schiſm *by ſome of this Church, both theſe and the other are branded not only as* Schiſmaticks, *but as* Hereticks *by the* Papiſts; *who upon this account judge us unworthy to live, and had actually deſtroyed* both *together, if* God *in Mercy had not diſcover'd their deviliſh* Plot. *The diſcovery gave them ſome interruption, and put them upon an after-game, to retrieve what had miſcarryed. And this was ſo to* divide *us, as that* our ſelves *ſhould help them in their deſign to* ruine us all, *when they had leſs hopes to do it* alone. *In purſuance hereof ſuch influence they have had upon too many, as to raiſe in them a greater averſation to* Diſſenters *than to* Papiſts. *Theſe the* Conſpirators *count their own, and think they may well do ſo, ſince*

they are too ready to concurre with them in their deſign to exterminate thoſe, who are true Proteſtants in every point, *and differ no more from this* Church *than thoſe in* France *do, who by the* ſame *Counſels are at this time in extreme danger to be utterly extirpated. Others are ſo far prevailed with as to make uſe of one of the ſharpeſt weapons they have againſt diſſenting Proteſtants, and that is the charge of* Schiſme, *lately renewed and re-inforced.*

In theſe hard circumſtances, while we do what we can againſt the common Enemy, *we are put to ward off the blows of ſuch as (notwithſtanding ſome preſent diſtemper) we will count our* Friends. *Amongſt other expedients, ſufficient to ſecure us againſt this attaque, it was thought not unuſeful, to anſwer the* allegations out of Antiquity, *concerning two points, wherein only the* Antients *were made uſe of to our prejudice, viz.* 1. *For* Dioceſan Churches, *and then* 2*ly. Againſt* the Election of Biſhops by the people *in the primitive times. Something was performed and publiſhed in reference to both theſe in a late diſcourſe. One half*

of which, where the latter is discussed, concerning the popular Elections of Bishops, *hath yet passed without any exception that I can see or hear of; yet this alone is enough to defend us against the aforesaid charge: For those who will not make the* primitive *Church* Schismatical, *must not condemn any as* Schismaticks *for declining such* Bishops *as that Church would not own.*

Against the former part of the Discourse, concerning Diocesan Churches, *some exception hath been made, but very little; a late* Author *in his* Preface *to a Treatise of another Subject, hath touched about* 5 *pages in* 40. *but so as he hath done them no more harm, than another, who to find one fault therein, runs himself into two or three, about* μνεια, *render'd* indefinitely *according to the mind of the* Author *who uses it, and the most common use of it.*

I disparage not the Gentleman's *Learning who attaques me in his Preface, he shews that which, (with answerable care and Judgment,) might be serviceable in a cause that deserves it. But much more than he shews, would not be enough to support what he would establish. And he might have forborn the vi-*

vilifying of those, who are known to be Masters of much more valueable Learning, than appears in either of us. The neglect of some accurateness in little things, remote from the merits of the cause, in one who is not at leisure to catch flies, is no argument that he is destitute of Learning.

I complain not of his proceeding with me; but am obliged by him, that he treats me not with so much contempt as he does others, who less deserve it. I wish he had dealt more temperately with M. B. it would have been more for his reputation, and no prejudice to his undertaking; a good cause, when it hath a sufficient Advocate, does not need any undecent supplements.

After I have cleared my Discourse from this Gentleman's exceptions, I thought it not impertinent to shew what in reason cannot be counted competent proofs of Diocesan Churches; that if any will pursue this debate farther, instead of opposing us, they may not beat the Air, and amuse those that enquire after truth, with what is insignificant. Withal I have given an account of what other allegations out of Scripture and Antiquity this Author

hath

hath brought in other parts of his Treatise for such Churches; and shew'd that there is no evidence in them, as to the purpose they are alledged for.

In short, I find nothing in this Author, *or any other before him, which may satisfie a judicious and impartial man, that in the* two first Ages *of Christianity any Bishop had more than one particular Church or Congregation for his proper charge; or that in* the third Age, *there was any Bishop which had a Church consisting of more than are in some one of our* Parishes, *unless it was the Church of* Rome *(nor is there sufficient evidence produced for that:) Or that in* the middle of the fourth Age *there were 4 Churches, each of which comprised more than could assemble in one place (though if they had contained more, that might be far enough from making them Diocesans;) Or that afterwards, within the* time of the four first General Councils, *where there were several Churches belonging to one Bishop, he did exercise jurisdiction over them alone, or only by himself and his Delegates. It will be time enough to censure us as* Schismaticks *for declining* Diocesan Churches, *when they have made it ap-*

pear.

pear, that there was such, in the best ages of Christianity: (which not appearing, the censure falls upon the primitive *Christians, from whom it will* slide *of upon themselves.) If they will forbear us, till this be performed, we need desire no more. Unless we may prevail with those who sincerely profess themselves* Protestants, *to regard the securing themselves and their* Religion *from the destructive designs of the* Papists, *more than* those things *which are not* properly *the concern either of* Protestant *or of* Religion.

As for those who prefer the Papists *before* Dissenters, *and revile these as worse, though they differ in no one point of Religion from other true* Protestants: *We need not wonder if we meet with no better treatment from them, then from declared Papists; since by such preference they too plainly declare the* Protestant Religion *to be* worse than Popery, *in their account. The following sheets have lain by me many Months, and had done so still; but that the importunity of some, and the misrepresenting of my silence by others, forced me to publish them.*

Dioceſan Churches not yet diſcovered in the Primitive times.

TO ſhew that many Presbyters in one Church was not enough to prove it a *Dioceſan*, I I made it manifeſt that it was uſual in the antient Church, to multiply Presbyters, *beyond what we count neceſſary*; (not beyond what is neceſſary, as it is too often miſrepreſented:) For this I offer'd two Teſtimonies, one aſſerting it to be ſo in the *Firſt Age*, the other in the *Fourth*, and thought theſe ſufficient, if they could not be denied, (as they are not) to evince it to have been ſo in the *Third*: For who can reaſonably ſuppoſe, but that had place in the *Third*, which was uſual both in the Ages *before* and *after*? The firſt was that of *Biſhop Downham*, who ſayes, *at the firſt Converſion of Cities, the number of people converted were not much greater than the number of Presbyters placed amongſt them.* But *this*, its ſayed *can be of little uſe*; 'becauſe, 1. This 'was not the caſe of the Church of *Carthage*, it was 'not a new converted Church, but ſetled long before, 'and in a flouriſhing condition.

The Church of *Carthage* by the fierce perſecutions in *Cyprians* time (which is the time we ſpeak of) was brought ſo low, and reduced to ſo very few, as if it had been but new converted, and how was it *in a ſetled and flouriſhing condition*, when it was ſo lamentably waſted, and ſtill harraſſed one year after another? or who can be-

lieve it, that reads *Cyprian* lamenting; *Preſſuræ iſtius tam turbidam vaſtitatem, quæ gregem noſtrum maxima ex parte populata eſt, adhuc & uſque populatur*, and that they were *poſiti inter plangentium ruinas, et timentium reliquias, inter numeroſam & languentium ſtragem, et exiguam ſtantium paucitatem?* (a) Was not this much the caſe of the *Apoſtolical Churches*, unleſs this of *Carthage* was worſe, and ſo leſs for our Author's advantage? Or if this were otherwiſe, the Churches in *Nazianzen's* time were not *newly converted*, but *ſetled* long before, and in a *flouriſhing condition*; which yet cannot be denyed to have had more Presbyters than *we count needful*. So that this was the practiſe in every condition of the Church, whether flouriſhing or not.

(a) *Lib. 4. Ep. 4.*

2. 'He ſayes, many more Presbyters may be ordained in a City, than is neceſſary for the firſt beginning of 'a Church, with reſpect to future increaſe. *&c.*

And who will queſtion, but the many Presbyters in the Church of *Carthage* were for *future increaſe* both in City and Country? So that herein the caſe is not different; And the deſign of that number of Officers might partly be for other Congregations, (Epiſcopal Churches, though not Dioceſan) to furniſh them with Officers. This is apparent afterwards in the practice of the *African Churches*, who when a new Church was erected, ſupplyed it with a Biſhop or other Aſſiſtants from places better ſtored with Officers; And it is exemplyfied particularly (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) in the proviſion which St. *Auſtin* made for *Fuſſala*.

'He ſayes further, the multitude of Presbyters belonging to one Congregational Church, might be occaſion'd by the uncertain abode of moſt of the *Apoſtles* 'and their *Commiſſioners*, who are the Principal, if not 'the only Ordainers of Presbyters mentioned in Scripture.

But

But herein he does but gueſs, and had no reaſon to be poſitive, unleſs the *Apoſtles* and their *Commiſſioners*, (as he calls them,) had been then the only Ordainers, which he will not venture to affirm, knowing what evidence there is againſt it.

'Laſtly, he ſayes, if this opinion of *Biſhop Downham* 'had any certain ground in Antiquity, we ſhould pro-'bably hear of it with both eares, and we ſhould have 'it recommended upon antienter Authority than his.

This of *Biſhop Downham* hath certain ground in the beſt antiquity, if the *New Teſtament* be ſuch; where it is plain there were many Presbyters in diverſe Churches, ſuch as are not yet, nor ever will be proved to be *Dioceſan*.

To that of *Nazianzen*; he ſayes, 'it hath received 'its anſwer, and adds, he that cannot anſwer it to him-'ſelf, from the great difference between the condition of 'the Church in *Cyprian*, and in *Nazianzen*'s time, hath 'a fondneſs for the Argument.

This is the anſwer it received, *Pag.* 51. and this difference was thus expreſſed a little before; 'But that any 'Church fixt and ſetled, having its Biſhop alwayes pre-'ſent, ſhould multiply Presbyters *beyond neceſſity*, in the 'circumſtances of the Primitive Chriſtians before *Con-'ſtantine*, is altogether incredible; for the neceſſary ex-'pences of the Church were very great, the poor nu-'merous, the generality of Chriſtians not of the Rich-'eſt, and the Eſtates they had being at the diſcretion of 'their enemies, and ruin'd with perpetual perſecution, *&c.* He ſayes, multiplying Presbyters *beyond neceſſity*, and *without neceſſity*; while he alters my words ſo as to change the ſenſe, he diſputes againſt himſelf, not me; But this looking more like an Argument than any thing before, I ſhall take a little more notice of it. 1. Is not all this applieable to the Churches in the *Apoſtle*'s times,

when it cannot be denyed *Presbyters* were multiplyed beyond what we count necessary? *The poor numerous, the generality of Christians not of the Richest, and the Estates they had being at the discretion of their enemies, and ruin'd with perpetual persecution.*

Further, the Church before *Constantine* and *Carthage* particularly, supposing these to be its circumstances, might have many Presbyters without any great charge: For 1st. the Church Stock was reserved *only* for those in *want*, τοῖς δεομένοις, as is determin'd in one of the *Canons* which pass for *Apostolical*, (b) and the same decreed in the synod at *Antioch.* (c) *Ambrose* even in the *4th. Age*, will have none to have a stipend who hath other revennes, *Qui fidei exercet militiam, agelli sui fructibus, si habet, debet esse contentus; si non habet, stipendiorum suorum fructu.* (d) And *Chrysostom* tells us that in Elections, those of the Competitors that had Estates did carry it, because the Church would need to be at no charge in maintaining of such, ἵνα μὴ δέοιτο τρέφειν ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσόδων. 2ly. When they had no Estates, and the *Church* could not maintain them, they were to provide for themselves by some honest imployment. The Council of *Elvira* allows all sorts of Clergy men to drive a trade, for their living, provided they did it only in the Province where they lived, (f) and in the 4th. Council of *Carthage* it is ordered, that the Clergy, *though they be learned in the word of God, shall get their living by a trade.* (g) and in the next *Canon* that *they shall get food and rayment by a Trade or Husbandry*, with this proviso, *that it be not a prejudice to their Office.* Our *Author* sayes indeed, (h) *that this is contrary to the usage of all other Churches*; how true this is may be seen by the *Canon* before cited. He sayes also, *that this is forbidden by the 3d. Council of Carthage*; but neither is this so, that *Canon* adds but another restriction, *viz.* that *they get not their livings by*

b) *Can.* 4.
c) *Can.* 25.
d) *Offic. L.* 1. *c.* 36.
e) *De sacerd. Orat.* 3. *Pag.* 23. *edit. Savil.*
f) *Can.* 19.
g) *Can.* 51.
h) *Pag.* 154.

by an employment that is sordid or dishoneſt, where the Latine and Greek both agree in it. 3ly. The Church was to allow none of them, no not *Biſhops* more than *neceſſary*, even after *Conſtantine*'s time. That Canon call'd the *Apoſtles*, and the other *Antioch* forecited, expreſs this in the ſame words, *the Biſhop may have of the Church Stock what is neeedfull, if he be neceſſitous*, τὰ δέοντα εἰ δεοίτο πρὸς ἀναγκαίας χρείας, for *neceſſary uſes*, and theſe are afterwards explain'd *to be food and rayment*. *Zonaras* expreſſes it fully and clearly, whom he that the *Canon* doth not ſatisfie, may conſult. (i) *Can.* 15. *in Cod.* 16.

Having ſhew'd out of *Juſtinian*, that 60 Presbyters belonged to the great Church in *Conſtantinople*, and thence inferr'd they were numerous in *Conſtantine*'s time, the 'number (ſayes he,) was become extravagant in *Juſtinians* time; but what is this to their number in *Cyprian's*?

He ſhould have asked the *Dean* this, who to prove *Dioceſan* Churches from the number of Presbyters, immediately after Teſtimonies out of *Cyprian*, brings this of *Juſtinian*.

'For this very edict of *Juſtinian* ſhews that this multi-'plying of Church Officers was an innovation, and *there-'fore* would have them reduced to the firſt eſtabliſh-ment.

Juſtinian took order to retrench the numbers of Presbyters, not *therefore* becauſe it was an *innovation*, but becauſe the Church revenue could not maintain ſo many, which is expreſs in the *Novel*.

'But that firſt eſtabliſhment it ſeems admitted great 'numbers, for one Church had 60. *True*; but it muſt alſo 'be noted firſt, that theſe 60 were to ſerve more than 'one Church.

Some may be ready to ask how it can be *true*, that one Church ſhould have 60, and yet more than one had theſe 60 amongſt them. 'For

'For there were three more besides St. *Sophia* to be 'supplyed by these Presbyters. *&c.*

True; but this still confirms what I answer'd to their argument from the multitude of Presbyters, that in the antient Church the Officers were multiplyed *above what we count needful:* For it is not now thought needful that any 3 or 4 Churches in a City, should have 60 Presbyters, 100 Deacons, 90 Subdeacons, Readers 110. *&c.*

'Yet after all, there is no argument to be drawn from 'this number, for these were *Canons* of a particular foun-'dation, design'd for the service of a *Collegiate* Church; 'and no measure to be taken from thence concerning the 'numbers of Presbyters belonging to the Diocess. This 'is evident from the Preface of the said *Novel.*

If no argument is to be drawn from this number, why did the *Learned Dean* draw one from it? 2ly. This seems scarce consistent with the former Period: there, these Presbyters were for 3 *or* 4 *Churches*, here they are but for *one Collegiate* Church of which they were *Canons*, and this said to be evident in the *Preface*, where I cannot see it. 3ly. *Since no measure is to be taken from hence concerning the numbers of Presbyters belonging to a Diocess*; it seems there may be this number of Presbyters in a place which cannot be counted a *Diocess*, (as this one great Church never was, nor can be) and then no argument drawn from the number of Presbyters at *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Edessa*, *&c.* will prove a *Diocesan Church*; for here was the greatest number, which any where we meet with.

Dr. St. to prove *Diocesan* Churches from the numerousness of Presbyters, mentioned 60 in C. P. in *Justinian*'s time; from hence on the by, I thought it reasonable to suppose they were numerous in *Constantine*'s time, when yet *Theodoret* sayes, *all the Brethren met together with the Bishop.* That the number of Presbyters is no

Proof

proof of a *Dioceſan* Church was evinced ſufficiently before: this fell in occaſionally, and was added *ex abundanti*; Yet upon this ſupernumerary ſtragler he turns his main force, ſpending about 12 Pages on it. I am little concerned what becomes of it, ſince the main Hypotheſis is already ſecured by the premiſſes; but that this Gentleman may not quite looſe all his labour, I am willing to looſe a little, in taking ſome notice of it.

'I muſt confeſs that what is added concerning the 'Church of C. P. is ſomewhat ſurprizing, no doubt 'ſayes he, that the Presbyters were *more numerous* in 'C. P.

Indeed it might have been ſurprizing if I had ſaid as he reports me, that they were *more numerous*; but I ſaw reaſon not to ſay ſo, though what reaſon there was to impoſe it on me I know not: I cited *Soc*: miſprinted *Soz.* ſaying, *Conſtantine built two Churches at C. P.*, but laid no ſtreſs on it at all. (k) *It is true*, he ſayes *not that he built no more than two*, but his expreſſion plainly implyes it, and he was concerned if he had known any more to have mention'd it, when in the ſame Line, he ſayes *Conſtantine* intended to make it equal to *Rome*. *Euſebius*'s words agree well enough herewith, he ſayes *Conſtantine adorn'd it*, πλείοσιν, *with more Churches*, and that's true, if he built but *two* more, or any more than was there formerly, or any more than was uſual. And theſe *more* Churches were not in the City, but (as the *Hiſtorian* ſpeaks) partly there, and partly περὶ τὴν ἄρκτον, which as the word is uſed, may denote places many Miles diſtant from the City, as the *Gentleman* elſewhere obſerves after *Valeſius*. *Sozomen* ſayes he built πολλὰς, many Churches, (not very many as he will have it) but if he thereby meant more than are named by *Socrates*, we need not underſtand that done before the time *Theodoret* ſpeaks of; Nor ſhould a lax expreſſion be more relyed on,

(k) *Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 12.

on, than one that is punctual and definite; unless we have a mind either to be misled, or to set the two *Historians* together by the ears. *Sozomen* names but one Church more than *Socrates* did, and that not *in*, but a good distance from the City, (70 Furlongs by Land,) and 3 may pass for *many*, when it was a rare thing for any City to have *more than one*. The best Authors, as they sometimes express *very few* by *none*, and a *generality* by *all*; so they express *more than ordinary* by *many*; and *two* or *three such* Churches in one City were more than ordinary at that time, when one City in an Hundred had not *two* Churches, and one in a Thousand had not *three* Churches, that could be styled μέγισται: *all* that *Constantine* built here were *such*, both *Eusebius* his *more*, and *Sozomen*'s *many*, are said, by them to be very great, μέγισται. But no considerable Author that I meet with in that Age, or some Hundreds of years after, names more than two *very great Churches* erected by *Constantine* in that City. And if comparison be made, there is no *Historian* of those times, to be more regarded in matters which concern *C. P.*, than *Socrates* who tells us, that he was born and educated in *C. P.*, and continued there (as an advocate) when he wrote his History.

L. 9. C. 24.

But if we should suppose that *Sozomen* intended more than 3 or 4 Churches, or that the *Emperour* built no more than was requisite, and only consulted conveniency, and design'd not State or Magnificence, (which yet our Author a little after sayes he did; and we know nothing is more ordinary than for great Cities to have more Churches than are needful: it was so in *London* before the Fire, and the retrenching of their number since shews it:) yet this will be so far from proving *Alexander*'s Church in *C. P.* to be *Dioceſan*, that it will not prove it greater than some single Congregations: for there were 12 Churches in *Alexandria*, when yet the Church in

in that City adhereing to *Athanasius* consisted of no more than are in some one of our Parishes. For which such Evidence has been brought, as is not yet, nor I think, can be defaced. 'Nor can we imagine that two 'Churches, much less one, could suffice all the Christi-'ans in *C. P.* when the City of *Heliopolis* being convert-'ed to Christianity required more, and *Constantine* 'built several for them, ἐκκλησίας ᾠκοδόμησε.

The word *plurally* expressed is much improved by our *Author*, he makes out of it *diverse Churches*, and *all these Churches*, when yet *all these* were but *one* Church, as *Socrates* himself makes it plain a little before *l*; for having related how *Constantine* ordered a Church to be built near the *Oak* at *Mambre*, he adds, that he ordered *another Church* (not Churches) *to be erected at* Heliopolis, ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν κατασκευασθῆναι. And to put it past doubt, *Eusebius* whom the *Emperour* employ'd about those structures, and from whom in all likelihood *Socrates* had the Relation, gives an account but of *one Church* there founded by the *Emperour*, which he calls οἶκον εὐκτήριον ἐκκλησίας *m*, and that it was furnished with a *Bishop*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. So that the Bishop of *Heliopolis* had but one Church for his Dioceß, which our *Author* should not be so loath to own, since it cannot be proved that at this time one Bishop in an hundred, had more.

[l] *Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 18.

[m] *l.* 3. *c.* 56. *De vitâ Constant.*

Valesius (whom our *Author* much relies on) in his *Notes* upon this place, is so far from thinking that *Constantine* built more Churches in *Heliopolis*, that he judges this one at present was not necessary for it, the Town having then no Christians in it: and assigns this as the reason why *Eusebius* speaks of it as a thing unusual, that it should have a Bishop appointed, and a Church built in it. His words are, *Fortasse hoc novum & inauditum fuisse intelligit*, &c. *He may think this new and unheard*

of, that a Church should be built in a City, where as yet there were no Christians but all were alike idolaters. Therefore this Church was built at Heliopolis, *not for that there was any necessity of it, but rather in hope that he might invite all the Citizens to the profession of the Christian Religion.* So that the Bishop here had none for his Diocese but one Church, and that empty, there being then no Christians in that one Parish; which yet was all he had to make him a *Diocesan*.

in lib. 3. de vit. Constant. c. 58. p. 235.

The better to confute *Theodoret*, who saies (for they are his words, not mine) that *Alexander with all the Bretkren met together*, he endeavours to shew the state of that Church about the latter end of *Constantine*, &c. this he does here and after by an undue Application of some passages in *Sozomen*. For the account which that *Historian* gives of that City is not confined to *Constantine*'s time, but reaches beyond it, ay, and beyond *Julian*'s too, which appears, as by other passages, so by his mentioning the *heathen Temples* in the time of that Emperour. And with respect to the time after *Constantine* must that expression be understood, which makes *C. P. to exceed* Rome, *not only in Riches, but in the number of Inhabitants*, otherwise it will be apparently false. For when *Chrysostome* was Bishop there, about 70 years after (when it is like the number of the Inhabitants were doubled, it cannot be questioned but they were far more numerous) he who best could do it, reckons the Christians then to be an 100000 *n*; our *Author* will have us look upon the *Jews* and *Heathen* there to be inconsiderable but let us count them another 100000. Yet both put together will fall incomparably short of the number in old *Rome*, which by the computation of *Lipsius* was at least *two millions o*. And in *Constantine*'s time *new Rome* was as far short of the old

n *In Act. Hom. 11. pag. 674.*

o *De Magnit. Rom. lib. 3. c. 3.*

as

as to its greatneſs in circuit, for whereas *Herodian* declares that *Severus* quite demoliſhed *Byzantium* for ſiding with *Niger*, and reducing it to the *State of a Village ſubjected it to* Perinthus, κώμην δουλεύειν Περινθίοις δῶρον ἐδόθη p, we cannot in reaſon ſuppoſe it to be extraordinarily ſpacious; yet as *Zoſimus* reports, all the inlargement which *Constantine* gave it, was but the addition of 15 Furlongs, σταδίοις πεντεκαίδεκα q. Now ſuppoſe it was 30 or 40 Furlongs in compaſs before (and ſo larger than one City in an hundred) yet this addition will leave it leſs than *Alexandria*, which, as *Joſephus* deſcribes it, was 80 Furlongs, that is, ten miles in circumference r, yet *Alexandria* was four times leſs than *Rome*, for by *Vopiſcus*'s account, in *Aurelian*'s time, not long before *Conſtantine*, *the walls were made* by him *near* 50 *miles in circuit*. So it will be in compariſon of *Conſtantinople* when firſt built, rather like a *Nation* than a *City*, as *Ariſtotle* ſaid of the other *Babylon*, ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους, ἢ πόλεως s. If then we will have this paſſage of *Sozomen* to have any appearance of truth, it muſt be extended far beyond *Conſtantine*'s time, when, as *Zoſimus* tells us, many of the ſucceeding Emperours were ſtill drawing multitudes of People to that City, ſo that it was afterwards encompaſſed with walls far larger, πολλῷ μείζοσιν, than thoſe of *Conſtantine* t. And in an Oration of *Themiſtius*, it is made a queſtion whether *Theodoſius junior* did not add more to C. P. than *Conſtantine* did to *Byzantium*.

p *lib.* 3. *p.* 58.

q *lib.* 2. *p.* 62.

r *De Bello Jud. lib.* 2. *cap.* 16.

s *Pol. lib.*3.*c.*2.

t *lib.* 2. *p.* 65.

'Many of the *Jews* and almoſt all the Heathen were 'converted and became Chriſtians.

The expreſſion of *Sozomen* does not hinder but as the main body of the *Jews* remained, ſo the numbers of the Heathen might be conſiderable. *Tertullian* ſpeaks of Citizens in his time as if they were *almoſt all Christians*,

 pene

u *Apol.* c. 37. *pene omnes cives christiani u*; yet no instance can be given of any one City where the Christians were the major part of the Inhabitants: those that take his words in a strict sense are very injurious to him, and make him speak that which no antient Records will warrant. *Sozomen* also may suffer by straining his expression; but I will not digress to take further notice of what is not material; for I design not, nor have any need, to make any advantage of the numbers of the Heathens in this City.

He tells us of 950 Work-houses whose rents were allowed to defray the Funeral expences of all that died in the City (for so it is expressed in the Constitution, w *Novel.* 43. περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁσίαν τὸ θεάγμα θείησιν w) these being performed with great solemnity, and multitudes of Attendants maintained by those rents for that purx *Nov.* 59. c. 2. pose x. How this here makes the Christians in *C. P.* to be so very numerous as he would have them, he should have shewed us; I am not yet so sagacious, as to discover it. The number of the Decani was determined y *Cod. de Eccl. Lex.* 4: by *Honorius* to 950 y. Our Author thinks it probable they were so many at the first establishment, but there's more ground to believe, they were much fewer in *Constantine's* time; for about 800 were counted sufficient in *Justinian's* Reign, 200 years after, when the City was both larger, and much more populous and z *Novel.* 59. c. 2. in its greatest flourish z. Those that consider the premisses, may well think, he might have form'd his conclusion in terms less confident, to say no worse of it.

Next he forms an Objection against himself: 'notwithstanding the number of Christians in *C. P.* might 'be much too great for one Congregation, yet the ma'jor part might be *Heretick*s or *Schismatick*s, such as 'came not to the Bishop's Church, and therefore all that

ᶜ that adhered to him might be no more than could ᶜ meet in one Assembly.

To which he answers, *that the number of Hereticks and Schismaticks was inconsiderable*, and will not except the *Arians* or *Novatians*. For the *Arians*, he saies, *they had not yet made a formal Separation.*

But if they did not separate themselves, the Church would have them separated, and did exclude them from communion, and withstood *Constantine*'s importunity for their admission, both here and in other places: *Athanasius* was threatned by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia a*, and banished by the *Emperour* for this cause among others. And *Alexander* being secured by *Arius* his death from admitting him to Communion, was the occasion of this passage in *Theodoret* which gives our *Author* so much trouble. Now the *Arians* being debarred from communion, lessened the Bishop's Church, both here and elsewhere, as much as if they had separated themselves. And they were numerous here, this being the place where they had greatest favour; in *Constantine*'s Edict against the *Hereticks* whose meetings he would have suppressed, the *Arians* were not mentioned when the other are named *b*. *Socrates* writes that the People in this City was divided into two Parties the *Arians* and the Orthodox, *they had continually sharp bickerings*, but while *Alexander* lived the Orthodox had the better; as soon as he was dead (which was * while *Constantine* lived) it seems they appeared equal, for *the contest*, saies he, *was dubious*, ἀμφήριστος ἡ μάχη *c*. In *Nazianzen*'s time so far they overtopt the Orthodox, that this great *Diocesan* Church appear'd but in the form of a *private meeting*, *held in a very little house*, where he kept a Conventicle with them, ἐν οἰκίσκῳ μικρῷ ἐκκλησιάζε, so *Sozomen d*, and *Socrates* agrees with him in the expression, ἐν μικρῷ οἰκίσκῳ, such a diminutive place seems as un-

a *Soc. lib. 2. c. 17*

b *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 62. 63.*

* *Vales observ. in Soc. & Soz. l. 2.*

c *Soc. lib. 2. c. 6.*

d *Lib. 7. cap. 5.*

unproportionable for such a *Diocesan* Church as a *Nut-shell* for *Homer's Iliads*, or *a Key-hole for a Witch*, to use our Author's Elegancies.

As for the *Novatians* to which he will have no more allowed than a *Conventicle*, they were numerous in other places, they had once diverse Churches in *Alexandria*, many Churches in *Rome* and in other places. It is like they were numerous here, for here they had as much favour or more, and longer too, than in the Cities forementioned, here *Socrates* sayes *they had three* 2.cap.30. *Churches e*, and if three Churches would but make one *inconsiderable Conventicle*; it is possible the other Orthodox Churches (though he will have them to be many) might be comprized in *one vast Congregation.*

I might observe how much *Sozomen* is mis-represented in what he sayes next of those concerned in the *Edict*, the *Novatians* especially. He speaks not *mincingly* as our Author would have him, but fully that the *Novatians did not suffer much* by the Edict; he does not say *only that it was probable* they suffered little, but sayes this only of a reason himself gives, why they suffered not much. He gives other reasons for it than *the opinion*, *the* Novatians had of that Bishop. He does not say the *other Hereticks were altogether extirpated.* He does not confess that *the* Novatians *suffered the same measure with others every where*, no, nor any where else, it is the *Montanists* that he sayes this of. He *dares to affirm they had a Conventicle* or more, for he affirms they had an eminent Bishop in *C. P.* and were not only *numerous therebefore* the Edict, but *continued so after.* The *Gentleman* was in too much haste here, as himself will perceive, by observing how much his account differs from the *Historians.*

At last he comes to that passage of *Theodoret* which occasioned all these lines, *but* Theodoret *affirms they were*

were no more than could meet in one Church, and that they did actually do so, 'I answer, sayes he, that *Theodoret* 'does not say so, and the passage cited does not con-'clude it.

I did not say *Theodoret affirms they were no more, than could meet in one Church*, but he sayes the same in effect, viz. that *all the Brethren assembled with* Alexander. His words are, *Alexander, the Church rejoycing, held an Assembly with all the 'Brethren, praying and greatly glorifying God.* The words are plain, and the sense, I take them in, is open in the face of them. Nor do I believe that any disinterested person would put any other sense upon them than this, that *the generality of Christians of which the Church at* Constantinople *consisted, assembled together with their 'Bishop* Alexander, *to praise God joyfully for their deliverance by the death of* Arius. But he will not have the words *taken in a general sense*, but *will suppose them taken with respect to that particular Congregation, in which* Arius *was to be reconciled.* Yet this supposition hath no ground either in the words, or in the contexture of the Discourse, or any where else that I know of, or our *Author* either; for if he had, we should have heard it *with both ears*, as he speaks elsewhere. He will not have *all the Brethren, to be all the Believers at* C. P. yet he knows that *Brethren* and *Believers* are Synonymous terms both in *Scripture* and *ancient Authors.* And those were the Believers or Brethren of the Church of *C. P.* which had occasion to rejovce, and that was the whole Church there: as for πάντες, render'd *Universi*, I do not take it *for all and every one* of the Christians there; for in all Assemblies, of great Churches especially, *many* are alwayes absent. He had dealt more fairly with *Theodoret*, if by *all* he would have understood the *generality of Christians adhereing to* Alexander *at* C. P. or the greatest part of them, and about

about such an abatement of the full import of the word, there had been no need to contend; but his restraint of it to a particular Congregation agrees not with the words, nor the occasion of them, nor hath any support elsewhere.

Nor is that better which follows, *unless you will say that with all the Brethren, does not signifie their personal presence, but only their unanimity.*

This looks more like a shift than a plain answer, and therefore he was well advised in not venturing to own it.

'*Theodoret* could not think that all the Beleivers of C. 'P. could come together to the Bishop's Church, for he 'cites a Letter of *Constantine*'s a little after, where he 'gives an account of the great increase of that Church. *In the City that is call'd by my name by the Providence of God, an infinite multitude of People have joined themselves to the Church, and all things there wonderfully increasing, it seems very requisite that more Churches should be built; understanding therefore hereby what I have resolved to do, I though fit to order you to provide* 50 *Bibles fairly and legibly written.*

He does not say an *infinite multitude*, the words of the Letter are μέγιστον πλῆθος, that there was a *very great multitude of Christians* is not denied, nor that he intended to *build more Churches*; but this confirms what is signified before, that these *very many Churches* were not yet built, but only in design, and that with a prospect of Christians there still increasing. And the *Bibles*, if they were intended only for C. P. might be for the future Churches, not the present only.

His Conclusion is, 'where Christians were so multi-'plied that it was necessary to build more Churches, 'and to make such provisions for the multitude of their 'Assemblies, it could not be that they should all make 'but one Congregation. He

He ſhould have concluded that which is denied, otherwiſe all he hath premiſed will be inſignificant, and to no purpoſe: it is granted that all the Chriſtians at C.P. did make more than *one Congregation*, and for their conveniency met at other times in ſeveral Churches. That which is denied is, that the main Body or generality of Chriſtians there could not meet in one Aſſembly, or did not ſo meet at this time with their Biſhop *Alexander*, as to this he hath proved nothing, and therefore did well to conclude nothing againſt that which is affirmed to be the plain import of *Theodoret*'s expreſſion.

And it may be ſuppoſed that *Theodoret*, if he had not expreſſed it, *might well think* (though the contrary be ſuggeſted) that as great multitudes, as *Conſtantine*'s Letters ſignified, might meet together at the Biſhop's Church; for himſelf declares what a vaſt Congregation he preached to at *Antioch*, having an Auditory of *many Myriads f.* I will not ask him what *Euſebius could think*, when he tells us the Chriſtians had μυριάνδρους ἐπισυναγωγὰς, *Aſſemblies conſiſting of Myriads g.* Nor what *Socrates thought*, when he tells us long after, of C. P. that *the whole City became one Aſſembly*, and *meeting in an Oratory, continued* there all day *h*, Ὅλη πόλις μία ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ γενόμενοι, &c. But I would have him tell me how he underſtands that paſſage of *Chryſoſtome*, καὶ γάρ τι τοῦ Θεοῦ χαριτὶ εἰς δέκα μυριάδων ἀρίθμον οἶμαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα συναγομένους τελεῖν *i.* What is the import of theſe words? Do they ſignify that *ten Myriads* were aſſembled in one place to hear *Chryſoſtome?* If ſo, there will be no queſtion but that the generality of Chriſtians might meet in one Church with *Alexander* in *Conſtantine*'s Reign; for that then, (about 70 years before) there was any thing near ſo many Chriſtians as an 100000; adhereing to one Biſhop in this City, cannot with any reaſon be imagin-

f *Ep.* 83.

g *Lib.*8. *Cap.* 11

h *Lib.*7. *cap.*23.

i *Hom.* 85. *in Mat. Tom.* 2. *p.* 529.

ed.

ed. Or does he mean only, that there were ſo *many Myriads* of Chriſtians contained in that City? If ſo, then he ſaies here no more than in another *Homily* forecited, where the number of Chriſtians in C. P. is computed to be an 100000, reckoning *all beſides Jews and Heathens*. Now if they were no more in his time, they cannot with reaſon be ſuppoſed to have been above half ſo many in *Conſtantine*'s (unleſs any can imagine, that their numbers advanced more in 6 years than in 70, when the ſucceeding Emperours multiplyed the Inhabitants exceſſively, ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν, as *Zoſimus* tells us [k], crouding the City ſo full as that they could ſcarce ſtir without danger:) and a great part of theſe were fallen off to *Arius* while *Alexander* was Biſhop: the *Novatians* alſo, were numerous, having ſeveral Churches; and theſe with other Sects being deducted, the Chriſtians there that communicated with *Alexander* will be no more (if ſo many) than belong to ſome one of our Pariſhes.

k *Lib.* 2.

'It would ſwell this Preface to too great a Bulk, if I 'ſhould anſwer the reſt ſo particularly.

Since he deſigned to be ſo breif, and to have ſo ſhort a Preface, I wiſh he had employed more of it againſt that which is the ſtrength of the Diſcourſe he oppoſes, and of more conſequence to the main Cauſe; and not have ſpent ſo many leaves upon a by-paſſage, for which we have little reaſon to be concerned: for if he could make it appear, that the Chriſtians at C. P. in *Conſtantine*'s time were more than could meet in one Congregation, yea, or in two either; that would be far from proving it a *Dioceſan Church*, unleſs ſome one or two of our Pariſhes can be counted ſo.

Let me add in fine, that our *Author* has done juſt nothing towards the diſproving of what *Theodoret* was alledged for; unleſs he ſhew, that C. P. exceeded *old Rome*,

Rome, was furnished with such an infinite number of Christians, so many (more than two) magnificent Churches there erected, the 50 Bibles thought needful to be provided, and almost all the *Heathen* besides many *Jews* converted; before *Alexander* (who is said to hold this Assembly *with all the brethren*) deceased; and so unless he prove that all this was done (which himself I think can scarce believe) in less than a year. For *Valesius* (upon whose authority this *Gentleman* takes much) proves at large (making it the business of one of his *Books*) that *Alexander* died (and yet must live some while after this *panegyrical* Assembly) in the year 331. And its manifest, that C. P, was not built, nor had that name till 331. For tho' it was building the year before, yet it was not finished till 25 of *Constantine's* Reign (as *Jerome* and others:) and the beginning of his Reign is reckoned from the death of *Constantius* his Father, who was Consul with *Maximianus* in the year 306, and died in the middle of it. There needs not a word more to shew that all his discourse on this subject is wholly insignificant, and not at all for his purpose, tho' this be the most considerable part of his Preface.

L. 2. observ. in Soc. & Soz.

Chronic.

Fast Consul.

'This Author gives several instances of several Bishops 'being in one City at the same time, in answer to the '*Dean* of *Paul's*, who affirmed that it was an inviolable 'rule of the Church to have but one, *&c. Jerusalem* is 'the first instance, *&c.* I wonder to find a man of Learn-'ing cite this passage, than which nothing can be more 'disadvantageous to his Cause.

There is one who I suppose passes for a *man of learning* who for the same purpose makes use of this instance, since mine was published; *We have*, saith he, *Examples in Ecclesiastical story of of two Bishop's at the same time in the same See; and yet this was never thought Schismatical, when the second was advanced by the consent of the first.*

Thus Alexander *a Bishop in* Cappadocia *was made Bishop of* Jerusalem *while* Narcissus *was living, but very old: and* Anatolius *at the same time, sate in the Church of* Cæsarea *with* Theotecnus, *and this was St.* Austin's *own case, who was made Bishop of* Hippo *while there was another Bishop living l.* He sayes also, *Nothing can be more disadvantageous to my cause than this passage.* If it had been no advantage to my cause, I should have thought it bad enough; but if nothing could be more disadvantageous, I am very unhappy: let us see how it is made good.

l *Defence of Dr. St. p.* 178.

'*Narcissus* having retired, and the people not knowing what had become of him, the neighbouring Bishops ordained *Dius* in his place, who was succeeded by *Gordius* and after by *Germanico*, (it should be by *Germanico*, and after by *Gordius*) in whose time *Narcissus* returned, and was desired to resume his Office, and did so. What became of *Germanico* (he means *Gordius*,) is not said but probably he resigned or died presently.

There is nothing to make either of these probable, it is altogether as likely, if not more, that he continued Bishop there with *Narcissus* for some time; but because *Eusebius* sayes nothing of it, I insist not on it. But besides he tells us, Narcissus *took* Alexander, *into the participation of the charge.* That signifies *Narcissus* was not excluded from the Episcopal *charge*, both had their parts therein. No, but sayes he, Alexander *was the Bishop*, Narcissus *retained but the name and title only*, that is, he was but a Titular, not really a Bishop, and why so? because *Alexander*, sayes he, *joined with him in prayers, and the Historian sayes he was not able to officiate by reason of his great age.* He was not able it may be to perform all the Offices of a Bishop, but what he was able to do no doubt he performed. Now if they must be but *titular* Bishops, who perform not personally all the Offices

fices of a Paſtoral charge (when they cannot pretend λιπαρὸν γῆρας) how many *real* Biſhops ſhall we find in the World? But beſides the *Name and Title*, did he not retain the Power and Authority of a Biſhop? If not, how came he to looſe it? Did he *reſign*, or was he *depoſed*? That he reſigned there is not the leaſt intimation in this *Hiſtorian* or any other; nor any inſtance in the antient Church, that ever any Biſhop diveſted himſelf of all paſtoral *Power* upon this account. To have depoſed him for his great age had been a barbarous Act, and ſuch as the Church in thoſe times cannot be charged with. No doubt but he retained the Epiſcopal power, though through Age he could not exerciſe it in all inſtances; and if he had not only the *Title* but the *Power*, he was really a Biſhop, and there were two Biſhops at once in one Church, and then this inſtance is ſo far from being *moſt diſadvantageous*, that it ſerves me with all the advantage I deſigned in alledging it.

As for the words of *Valeſius* cited by him, if they be taken in the ſenſe which our *Author* would have them, that *learned man* will not agree with himſelf. For but a very few lines before, he ſays, theſe two were *Co-Epiſcopi*, *Biſhops together* in that City, *ſuperſtite epiſcopo adjutor & coepiſcopus eſt adjunctus*, And tho' he ſays (but ſays it doubtfully with a *ni fallor*) this was forbidden at *Sardica* (above 100 years after); yet he adds that, *notwithſtanding it was ſtill uſual in the Church*, *nihil ominus identidem in eccleſia uſurpatum eſt*, which is all that I need deſire. And afterwards, where *Euſebius* in *l. 7. c. 32.* again mentions two Biſhops in one City, he obſerves, that in one of his Copies, the *Scholiaſt* has this note upon it in the Margin, ἐν ἐνταῦθα μίας ἐπισκοπῆς δύο πρεσβύσησαν, *here alſo there were two Biſhops of one Church.* *Valeſius* adds, *the Scholiaſt underſtands* Alexander, *who was Biſhop of* Jeruſalem *together with* Narciſſus.

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The next instance is of *Theotecnus* and *Anatolius* who were Bishops of *Cæsarea* together. Against this he hath little to say, I suppose because nothing can be said against it in reason. Only he seems willing that *Anatolius* should pass but as *Episcopus designatus*, whereby if he mean one, who is not yet actually a Bishop, but designed to be one hereafter, as *Eradius* was by *Augustine*, it is inconsistent with what *Eusebius* sayes and himself quotes, but one line before, viz. *that* Theotecnus *ordained him Bishop in his life-time*; for if he was not *actually* Bishop after he was thus ordained, he was never Bishop at all *m*.

m *Euseb. l. 7. c. 32.*

Another instance was of *Macarius* and *Maximus* both Bishops at once of *Jerusalem*.

He would not have *Maximus* to be Bishop while *Macarius* lived, because it is said *he was to rule the Church after his Death.*

But *Maximus* was to govern the Church not only after his death, if he survived him (as he was like to do being much younger) but while he lived; and so did actually together with him, συνεπᾶδαι, which denotes the exercise of the same Function together *n*: besides the *Historian* sayes, *Maximus* was before this ordained Bishop of *Diospolis*, and if he had officiated at *Jerusalem*, where they were so desirous of him, in a lower Capacity; their kindness to him had been a degrading him; which it cannot be supposed they would either offer, or he yeild to.

n *Soz. l. 2. c. 19.*

I alledged *Epiphanius, who signifies that other Cities had two Bishops together, and excepts only* Alexandria. To which he answers, *that* Epiphanius *cannot mean that all other Cities had two Bishops at a time*, nor did I say that he meant this, but his expression imports no less than that it was *usual for other Cities to have two Bishops.* Nor is there any reason to think that *Epiphanius* respects only the

the cases alledged; it was quite another case that was the occasion of his words; and diverse other instances might be brought of a different nature and occasion, though this be sufficient to shew, that the rule against two Bishops in one City was not *inviolable*: He adds, 'I 'do not see what advantage can be made of this pas-'sage.

This *passage* shews that there was commonly two Bishops in a City at once, *Alexandria* is only excepted as varying herein from other Cities. And this is *advantage* enough *for me*, and it is enough *against him* too; and leaves no reason for his pretence that it was only in *extraordinary cases*. I affirmed it *could not be* Epiphanius *his meaning (as a great Antiquary would have it) that* Alexandria *was never so divided, as that several parties in it should have their respective Bishops there*, and brought several Instances to evince it: *for so it was divided in the time of* Epiphanius, *when the Catholicks had* Athanasius, *the* Arians *had* Gregorius, *and then* Georgius; *and afterwards the one had* Peter *the other* Lucius, *and the* Novatians *had their Bishops successively in that City till* Cyril's *time*.

'He answers however I do not see why that learned 'Antiquarie's opinion may not be maintained against this 'Gentleman's objections, he sayes that *Alexandria* was 'divided before *Epiphanius* his time between several Bi-'shops (I said in *Epiphanius*'s time) it cannot be denied. 'But that is not the thing *Epiphanius* speaks of, but that 'before the Election of *Theonas* against *Athanasius*, 'there were never two opposite Bishops as in other 'Churches.

But this doth neither *agree* with the one nor *defend* the other; it agrees not with *Epiphanius*, but makes him contradict himself, for he tells us there were two opposite Bishops at *Alexandria* before *Theonas* was cho-

sen.

sen. For this was not till *Alexander*'s death, but he sayes *Pistus* was made Bishop there by the *Arians* while *Alexander* was living *o*. And he could not be ignorant of what *Eusebius* declares *p*, that upon the division in *Egypt* occasioned by *Arius*, in every City, κατ' ἐκκλησιαν πολιν, *there was Bishop against Bishop*, and People against People. Nor doth it *defend* the *Antiquary*, for he speaks universally without limiting himself to the Election of *Theonas*, *Ecclesiam Alexandrinam nunquam in partes scissam quarum singulæ Episcopum suum habebant*, *that Church was never divided so as to have opposite Bishops.*

o *Her.* 69. *Num.* 8. *p.* 733.
p *Vita Const. l.* 3. *cap.* 4.

'The instances are all later than this Fact, and there-'fore are insignificant, sayes he.

They are fully *significant*, both in reference to the *Antiquary* against whom they are brought to prove that he mistook *Epiphanius*, when he would have it to be his meaning, that *Alexandria* was never so divided as to have two opposite Bishops; for they shew it was often so divided: and also in reference to *Epiphanius*, they were so late as his time on purpose, to shew more unquestionably, that could not be his meaning, which was against his knowledge, and notorious instances in his own time.

But he will not deny the *instance of the Novatians to be significant*, *only* Socrates *does not say that they had their Bishops successively to* Cyril's *time.*

Nor do I say he does; but he sayes Cyrill *shut up the* Novatian *Churches there*, *and took away all the sacred treasure in them*, *and deprived their Bishop* Theopompus *of all he had.* Now when our *Author* meets with Churches, and a *Bishop* over them; he is not wont to question a *Succession*, unless it appears he was the first.

'It may be they began there after this time, for there 'is little Account in Church-History, that I know, of 'any *Novatians* in *Alexandria* before *Athanasius*,

We

We are little concerned about this, yet it may be they began before this time, *for there is no account at all in Church History, that the* Novatians *began there in, or after* Athanasius *his time.*

I had produced evidence that many *African Bishops* declared, in the case of *Valerius* and *Austin*, that it was *usual* in all parts, to have two Bishops in a City at once; to this he answers, 'but suppose all this true, that this 'might be maintained by the Examples of several 'Churches, what is it that two Bishops may be in one 'Church? no, that is not the matter, but that a Bishop 'when he growes old, may appoint or ordain his Suc-'cessour, to *prevent the mischiefs, that are usually produced* 'by popular Elections.

If what the *African Bishops* did alledge, were restrained to that particular *case* he contends for; yet this is enough to make good all I intend, viz. that *usually* in the antient Church, there *were two Bishops together in one place.* For when one is ordained Bishop in the same place, when another is still living; with whatever design, upon what occasion soever this is done, yet there are two Bishops at once in the same place.

I see no reason why this should be restrained to that *particular case*, the occasion of what the Bishops affirm may clear it, and that was *Austin*'s scruple, not to succeed *Valerius*, but to be made Bishop of *Hippo*, while his Bishop there was living, *Episcopatum suscipere, suo vivente Episcopo, recusabat*, for so there would be two together, which he took to be against the Custom of the Church, *contra morem Ecclesiæ*; but they all perswade him that this was usually done, *id fieri solere*, and prove it by examples in all parts *q*. And *Valerius* his desire and proposal was, that *Austin* might be ordained Bishop of *Hippo*, *Qui suæ Cathedræ non tam succederet sed Consacerdos accederet, not as one that was to succeed him only, but to be Bishop together with him.*

q *Possidon. vita August. cap.* 8.

When he assigns this as the reason of appointing a a Successour, to *prevent the mischiefs that are usually produced by popular elections*, he speaks his own sence, not theirs; for they were better advised than to brand the general practice of the ancient Church as *mischievous*, and how this suggestion becomes one, who undertakes to write a *vindication of the Primitive Church*, let himself consider. Others may judge it, a more intollerable reflection upon the universal Church in the best and after times, than any *M. B.* can be justly charged with. However the reason assigned for it by *Possidonius* is another thing than appears in this Authors whole account, it was because *Valerius feared lest some other Church, should seek him for their Bishop, and get a person so approved, from him.*

Whereas in fine he sayes, 'These Cases specified 'were not thought to violate the Rule that allowed but 'one Bishop to a City. Yet it was thought so by St. *Austin*, when he excuses his suffering himself to be made Bishop with *Valerius, by this*, that he knew not it was forbidden by a *rule* of the *Nicene Council*, *Quod Concilio Niceno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam*, and gives this as the reason why he would not so ordain *Eradius.*

Next he would prove, that this *provision for a Successour does not destroy that Rule*, by an instance, I need not transcribe it at large, the sum of it is this, *when the Government is Monarchical, if it fall out* once (in many Ages, as it did in *England* once in above 500 years) *that another King be crowned, besides him who hath the Throne; yet it will be true enough, that it is the rule of those Kingdoms to have but one King.* To which I say briefly, if it be *usual* to have two Kings in such a Government, it will scarce be thought true, that it is *the inviolable Rule* of those Kingdoms, to have but one King. And then how this instance will sute his purpose,

poſe let thoſe judge who take notice, that, I have already proved it *uſual* in the antient Church for Cities in all parts to have *two Biſhops at once.*

From *pag.* 12. he paſſes to *pag.* 23. To ſhew there were more Biſhopricks than one in the Region or Dioceſs of *Hippo* I brought ſeveral inſtances; and might have produced more, but that I confined my ſelf to thoſe which the learned *Dean* alledged to the contrary. *Fuſſala* is one of them, and that alone this *Gentleman* takes notice of. St. *Auſtin* calls it *Caſtellum* diverſe times in one Epiſtle. He finds fault that I tranſlate *Caſtellum* a *Caſtle.* I did no more expect to be blamed for this, than if I had render'd *Oppidum* a Town. But I ſuppoſe he counts it no great crime, ſince he runs into it himſelf and in a few lines after calls it a *Caſtle.*

'But theſe Caſtles, ſayes he, were Garriſon Towns, 'with a good dependance of Villages belonging to 'them.

They were Fortreſſes, and ſometimes had Villages depending on them, and might contain ſo many buildings as there are in ſome Village or little Town; however he calls them *Caſtles*, and may give me leave to do ſo too.

He adds, "It was 40 miles diſtant from *Hippo*, and 'was in St. *Auſtine*'s Dioceſs, and never had a Biſhop of its own.

It is ſaid indeed to belong to the *Dioceſs of* Hippo, but I do not find it ſaid to be in St. *Auſtine's Dioceſs* or Biſhoprick; theſe are two things and ſhould not be confounded. When it is ſaid to *belong to the Dioceſs of* Hippo, ſo farr diſtant, Dioceſs is not taken as an *Eccleſiaſtical ſenſe* as it is with us, for part of a Countrey under the Government of *one* Biſhop; but as it was uſed in *Africa* in a *civil* ſenſe, for part of a Province, without reſpect to *one Biſhop*, or to *any one Biſhop* at all. Some

parts there call'd Dioceſſes *had no Biſhops, nor were to have any* by Decrees of the *African Councils* r. Other places called a *Dioceſs* had more Biſhops than *one*. *Petilian* ſayes, that in the place where his Collegue *Januarius* was Biſhop there were 4 Biſhops beſides, all five in *unâ Diœceſi* s. And thus it was in many other places, particularly in that called the *Dioceſs of* Hippo, as I ſhew'd by diverſe inſtances, and St. *Auſtin*'s own Teſtimony.

r *Con. Carth. 2. Can. 5. Code Afric. 53.*

s *Coll. Carth. D. 1 Num. 117.*

Hereby it appears that in *Africa*, a *Dioceſs* and a *Biſhoprick* were not the ſame thing, though they be with us. There were diverſe Dioceſſes and no Biſhopricks and many Biſhopricks where but one Dioceſs; ſo that *Fuſſala* and 20 other Caſtles and Towns might be in the *Dioceſs of* Hippo, *at* 40 *miles diſtance* or more; and yet St. *Auſtin*'s Biſhoprick, not one jot the larger for it, nor he more a Dioceſan.

Whereas he adds, *that it never had a Biſhop of its own.* It is unqueſtionable that *Fuſſala* had a Biſhop of its own in *Auſtin*'s time; and this renders it wholly unſerviceable to their purpoſe; for the Biſhoprick of *Hippo*, ſaid to be *of* 40 *miles extent*, will not upon the count of *Fuſſala* be 40 yards larger. Nor will either of theſe Biſhops, nor any other in that Region be Dioceſans; unleſs there can be two Dioceſans, and I know not how many more, in *one Dioceſs.*

I aſſigned this reaſon, why *Fuſſala* had not a Biſhop ſooner, becauſe *Auſtin* declares, *there was not one Catholick in it*, and ſuppoſed this might ſerve the turn, not dreaming that thoſe who count all the people in a very large Pariſh, or in an 100 Pariſhes little enough for a Dioceſan; could think his Dioceſs competently furniſhed when he had not *one Soul* (or but ſome few) in communion with him.

He ſayes, *the Town or Caſtle indeed had none, but the County belonging to it had ſome*; he will have the Territory

tory or Parish depending on this *Castle* to be a *County*. I cannot but observe the admirable power of a fancy tinctured and prepossessed. It will turn a *Parish* into a *County*, and a *Castle* into a *County Town*; and since a *County* with us, was a *Province* with them, one *Province* must be as much as all *Africa*; and a very small *part* of *Numidia*, must be far greater than the *whole*. But there are some *Hypotheses*, which may stand in need of such imaginations.

However he likes not my reason, and why? because, *though it had no Catholicks in it then, it might have some before* and concludes it had, *because it belonged heretofore to the Dioceſs of Hippo.*

" But that it formerly had Catholicks, (saies he) we " may conclude by Mr. *Baxter*'s reasoning, because it " belonged heretofore to the Dioceſs of *Hippo*."

If *Dioceſs* be taken in a *civil* sense (as it is frequently in *African* Authors) this will be no proof, that *there had been any Catholicks in it*, because in this sense *Fussala* might belong to that Dioceſs, though there had not been either Christian or Bishop in the whole Region. Nor will it be hereby proved, taking it in the Ecclesiastical sense; for that part of *Hippo*, which was under the *Donatist* Bishop, had no Catholick; and yet *de jure*, as he tells us, belonged to the Dioceſs, (as he calls it,) or charge of St. *Austin*. Yet since he allows Mr. *Baxter*'s Argument, he must admit what it concludes, *viz.* that a place that hath no Christians or Catholicks in it, belongs to no Bishop; and then *Fussala* never belonged to St. *Austin* as its Bishop; either *before* it had Catholicks, for against this the Argument is admitted to be concluſive: not *after*, for then it had a Bishop of its own. And so all they have to alledge for the largeness of St. *Austin's* Bishoprick comes to nothing.

" So

"So that I conceive the reaſon will not hold, for its "having no Biſhop of its own, ſince the ſame reaſon "deſtroys its dependence upon the the Dioceſs of *Hippo*, "which is expreſly affirmed.

The reaſon I gave for its having no Biſhop, was, becauſe St. *Auſtin* declares *there was no Catholick in it.* This reaſon will *hold*, unleſs they think a place may have a Biſhop where there are no Chriſtians at all; when as yet they judge, that a place which hath Chriſtians enough to make a *good Congregation*, or *many*, ought not to have a Biſhop. Whereas he ſayes this reaſon *deſtroys its dependance upon the Dioceſs*, I wonder what *dependance* he imagines, ſince it is ſuch, as both the *not having* of Chriſtians, and alſo the *having of them*, deſtroys it. The former he here affirms, *the ſame reaſon* (which is its not having of Catholicks) *deſtroys it*; the latter is undeniable, for when *Fuſſala* had a competent number of Catholicks, a Biſhop was there conſtituted; and then it depended no more on the *Dioceſs* of *Hippo*, than one Biſhop's Church depends on another, when both are independent.

The dependance of *Fuſſala* upon *Hippo* was ſuch, as that of a Countrey place upon a greater Town well furniſhed with Officers for their help, to convert and reduce the Inhabitants, and when enough are converted to help them to a Biſhop or Paſtor. This St. *Auſtin* did for *Fuſſala*, he imployed Presbyters to reduce the Donatiſts there, and when they were reduced, he adds them not to his own charge, would not have them *Epiſcopo cedere*; but adviſes them to have a Biſhop of their own, and procures one for them. This was the practice of the primitive times, in theſe methods were Churches and Biſhops multiplyed; it was not out of uſe in the *fifth Age*, this of *Fuſſala* as managed by St. *Auſtin* is a remarkable inſtance thereof; and if other Biſhops had imitated

imitated him, as he did the Apoſtles, and beſt Ages, the Church would not have been troubled with debates about *Dioceſans.*

That *Auſtin* would not take the Charge of a Place ſo far off as *Fuſſala*, he will have it *aſcribed to his Modeſty.* But it was ſuch *Modeſty* as this excellent Perſon made Conſcience of, being convinced *certiſſimâ ratione*, by *moſt certain reaſon*, that he was not ſufficient for it. If all other Biſhops had been ſo *modeſt*, ſo conſcientious, there might have been, as *Nazianzen* ſpeaks, when Biſhops were multiplyed in *Cappadocia*, Ψυχῶν ἐπιμέλειαν πλείων, a much more deſirable thing, to thoſe that *love Souls*, than a great Dioceſs.

He gives a reaſon why this muſt be aſcribed to St. *Auſtin's modeſty*, becauſe *he diſcharged the Office of a Biſhop there, in more difficult times, while the Presbyters he imployed there, were barbarouſly uſed.*

I need not deny that he performed the *Office of a Biſhop* there; for it is the office of a Biſhop to endeavour by himſelf or others, the converting or reducing of all that he can. Only this will not prove *Fuſſala* to be then a part of his Biſhoprick, no more than it will prove *Athanaſius* to have been Biſhop of *India*; becauſe he encouraged, and ſent *Frumentius* with others thither, to convert the *Indians* t.

t *Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 1
Soz. l. 2. *c.* 2

The learned *Dean* had cited *Auſtin* as calling himſelf the Biſhop of that *Dioceſs* (underſtanding by it a Region of vaſt extent) I obſerved that in the Epiſtle quoted he onely ſaith he had the *Epiſcopal charge of* Hippo. By this the Gentleman changing my words, will have me to ſignifie, that he was the Biſhop of the *Town only.* This I did not intend, but that, he was not *the only Biſhop* of that whole Region. But whether he was Biſhop of part of the Town only, or of that and ſome part of the Region alſo, I am not much concerned. His words are

as

" as if he had been Bishop of the Town only, nay, but " of part of that neither, for the *Donatists* had their " Bishop there: so this will strangely diminish the Bi- " shoprick of St. *Austin* which at first appeared so large. Then, he answers, for *the Donatists having a Bishop there, it signifies little to our present purpose, since he was but an Usurper.*

But this signifies as much to my purpose as I need; for the *Donatists* having a Bishoprick in *Hippo*, St. *Austin's* must needs be diminished thereby, and altogether as much lessened, as if they had not been *Usurpers*. And they were counted no otherwise *Usurpers*, but so that if the *Donatist* Bishop had been reconciled; by a Decree of the *African* Church he was to continue in his Bishop-there, as a *rightful Possessour*, and there would have been still two Dioceses (such as they were) in one Town.

He would have us *believe Austin* as if he declared, that he was not the Bishop of the Town only; but his words are, *Ut modum dispensationis meæ non supergrediar hoc Ecclesiæ ad Hipponensem Regionem pertinenti prodesse contestor*, which, sayes our Author, plainly signifies, *that all the Church belonging, not only to the Town, but but also to the Region of* Hippo, *belonged to him.*

But if he please to view the words again which himself hath quoted, he will find it plainly signifyed, that Austin's *Church belonged to the Region of* Hippo, *but not that all the Church both in Town and Region, belonged to him. Antonius* Bishop of *Fussala* might have said this as truly of his Church there, as *Austin* did it of his Church at *Hippo*; it did *ad Hipponensem Regionem pertinere*, belong to the Region of *Hippo*. And it may be as justly inferred from hence, that all the Church both in the Town and Region of *Hippo* belonged to the Bishop of *Fussala*. If our Author will allow of this (as he must if he will stand

ſtand to his own account of this paſſage) *Auſtin*'s Biſhoprick will be *ſtrangely diminiſhed* indeed, it muſt be confined to a part of *Hippo*, and made leſs than I repreſent it. For I did not ſay, nor had I any need to aſſert, that he was Biſhop of the Town only. We may allow him beſides his part of the Town, diverſe Villages in the Countrey (though I have not ſeen it proved) without any danger of aſſigning him a *Dioceſan* Church. For *Kidderminſter* (as one tells us, who very well knows it) hath 20 Villages belonging to it, and ſome thouſands of Souls therein, yet according to our modern meaſures will ſcarce make a *Dioceſan* Church *u*.

u M. B. *of Epiſcopacy, Part 2. p. 9.*

To ſhew that there were *more Biſhops in the Region of* Hippo, than St. *Auſtin*, beſides particular inſtances (which he paſſes by) I alledged a paſſage of his where the *Donatiſts* were deſired to *meet together with the Catholick Biſhops, that were in that Region, and who there ſuffered ſo much by the Donatiſts* : to this he anſwers, " That theſe Biſhops who are ſaid to be in *Regione Hip-* " *ponenſi*, were not the Biſhops of that *Region*, but " ſome Biſhops of the *Province* met together there.

But that theſe were Biſhops of the *Province* met together there, is a meer conjecture of his own, without the leaſt ground either in this paſſage or any other in that *Epiſtle*. It will not be hard to anſwer any thing at this rate. If there had been a *Provincial* Council then held in that *Region*, there might have been ſome pretence for what he ſayes; but there is not any hint of this in the whole *Epiſtle*. That which is deſired is a *Meeting for conference*, *Hoc eſt ergo deſiderium noſtrum, &c. Primum ſi fieri poteſt ut cum Epiſcopis noſtris pacificè conferatis* ——, *ideo nos conferre volumus* ——, and the prime occaſion of it was the outrages committed in that Region by the *Donatiſts*, wherein the Biſhops of that place were particularly concerned. This is ſignifyed,

fyed, as in other parts of the Epiſtle, ſo particularly in the *paſſage cited*, *Epiſcopos noſtros qui ſunt in Regione Hipponenſi, ubi tanta mala patimur.* This Meeting was to be with the *Catholick* Biſhops upon the place, in *Regione Hipponenſi*, not any to be call'd from other parts. And theſe words ſeem brought in to prevent an objection which the *Donatiſts* might make againſt a more general, or more publick meeting, as that which might bring them in danger of the Laws in force againſt them; *An fortè iſtæ leges Imperatoris vos non permittunt noſtros Epiſcopos convenire*, and then immediately follows theſe words in anſwer to it, *Ecce interim Epiſcopos noſtros qui ſunt in Regione Hipponenſi*, &c. ſo that this to me ſeems the plain ſence of both Objection and anſwer; If becauſe of the Laws you dare not meet us in a more General or Provincial Council, yet give a Meeting to the Biſhops of this particular Region, where there can be no apprehenſion of danger. All which makes me judge, what he ſayes concerning the *Biſhops of the Province* as here intended, to be no better than an Evaſion.

To prove that there was but one Biſhop in the Region of *Hippo*, he tells us, "That the Clergy there cal-"led in the Inſcription of an Epiſtle, *Clerici Regionis* "*Hipponenſium*, ſpeaking of the Biſhop of *Hippo*, do call "him their Biſhop, and not one of their Biſhops, *&c.*

But the Clergy ſo called, may be only the Clergy of *Hippo*, and ſo they are in the Title of the Epiſtle *Clerici Hippone Catholici*: and well may they of *Hippo* be called the Clergy of the *Region*, both becauſe they were in that Region, and were the Clergy of it κατ' ἐξοχὴν. But if the expreſſion ſhould be extended to *more* or to *all* in the Region, their calling him *Epiſcopus noſter*, will be no proof that they had no other Biſhop, but him at *Hippo*. For that phraſe

phraſe *Epiſcopus noſter* or *Epiſcopi noſtri*, all along in this Epiſtle, doth not denote the Biſhop of that *particular Church* to which they belonged (as he would have it) but a Biſhop of their *party* or *perſwaſion*. So they call *Valentinus noſtrum Catholicum Epiſcopum*, who yet was not Biſhop of *Hippo*. So they call them *Epiſcopos noſtros*, whom they deſired the Donatiſts to meet once and again *w*, and thrice in another page, where our *Author* finds *Epiſcopos noſtros x*. He may have many more inſtances hereof in that Epiſtle. If there was ſo many Biſhops in *Hippo* or in that Region, as the Clergy call *Epiſcopos noſtros*, he muſt grant many more Biſhops in that Region than I need deſire. So that this *Phraſe* however it be underſtood, is a *medium* unhappily choſen: if it be taken in *my ſenſe* it is impertinent and can conclude nothing for him; if it be taken in his *own ſenſe*, it will conclude directly againſt him.

w *pag.* 373.

x *pag.* 371.

He paſſes to *Alexandria*, and to *pag.* 32. *The inſtance of* Mareotis *he ſayes little to*, ſo our Author, I might think it enough, where there was ſo little occaſion.

"He inſinuates as if *Mareotis* might not have number "enough of Chriſtians to have a Biſhop, but this *Atha-* "*naſius* does ſufficiently ſhew to be a groundleſs con- "jecture.

I had no intention or occaſion to ſignifie that *Mareotis* had not Chriſtians enough to have a Biſhop, I knew that it both had many Chriſtians, and a Biſhop alſo, and named him too; and therefore the *groundleſs conjecture* may be fixed ſomewhere elſe.

"And even before *Athanaſius*, the generality of the "People there were Chriſtians.

How long before? *Dionyſius* in the latter part of the third Age declares it ἔρημον τῶν ἀδελφῶν, quite *deſtitute of Chriſtians y*, and the gaining the generality there, to the Faith, required ſome conſiderable time, and it is

y *Euſeb. l. 7. c. 11.*

like proceeded not far, till Christianity generally prevailed.

Besides *Ischyras*, I had mentioned *Dracontius*, both Bishops in the *Territory* of *Alexandria* (as *Agathammon* also was z) of *Dracontius* he takes notice, and sayes, *possibly he was a Chorepiscopus*.

z *Apol. 2. p. 612.*

But a Chorepiscopus is elsewhere with him a *Diocesan* a, and here he sayes that he did *accept a Bishoprick*. Now these put together will go near to make a *Diocesan* Bishop. But then if there were two or three Bishops in the Dioceſs of *Alexandria*, besides *Athanasius*; they will scarce be so much as half *Dioceſans*.

a *pag.* 590.

He sayes *Athanasius press'd him to accept it.* If so this great Person was no more unwilling to have another Bishop in his *Dioceſs*, and in a *Countrey place* too, than *Austin* was to have one at *Fussala*. He sayes further this was an *extraordinary case*, though what was *extraordinary* in it I cannot imagine; to prove any thing there mentioned to be so, will be an hard task.

"And allowing this man a Countrey Bishoprick, "that of *Alexandria* would be a great deal too bigg for "the Congregational measure.

And so it might be, and yet be no *Dioceſan* Church; if that will satisfie him which is *too big for those measures*, he seems content to drop his cause, and may leave it in the hands of *Presbyterians*. And he is in the more danger, because he seems not apprehensive of it, but counts it enough if he thinks a Church is any where found larger than *one* Congregation.

I had given instances of several Towns that had Bishops, and were but two or three or four *&c.* miles distant one from another this he denies not: but asks *what does this conclude? might not those Dioceſſes be yet much larger than one Congregation?*

I might conclude that these were just such *Dioceſſes* as our Countrey Pariſhes are; and had such Congregations as those Pariſh Churches have. And some of them in time might have proviſion (as some of ours have) for more Congregations than one. And if our *modern Dioceſſes* were of this proportion, they would be much more conformable to the *antient* Modells.

"Suppoſe the chief Congregations of *Holland* had "each a Biſhop, yet I conceive they would be Dioce- "ſans, though those Cities lie very cloſe together.

He might have laid the *ſcene* at home, where we are better acquainted, and ſuppoſed this of our Countrey Towns; or of both the *chief*, and *leſſer* Towns in *Holland*; if he had deſigned what would be moſt parallel. But to take it as it is formed, though those Cities lay not further diſtant, and had each of them a Biſhop, yet if their Churches were governed in common by Biſhop and Presbyters, as the antient Churches were; they would not be *Dioceſan*, but more like the Model of the Churches and Government which *Holland* hath at preſent.

"And now after all this, though we have ſeveral in- "ſtances out of *Egypt*, how near Cities were together "in ſome parts; yet upon the whole account the Dio- "ceſſes do appear to be large enough, from the num- "ber of them.

He would have us think where Cities are *ſo near together* (as I had ſhewed) yet becauſe of *their number* the Dioceſſes might be large enough. But where they were ſo near together, they could not be large enough to make any thing like the modern Dioceſſes, no, nor larger than our Countrey Pariſhes if they had Biſhops in them. And the Ancients thought themſelves obliged by the *Apoſtle's* rule to have a Biſhop, not only in ſome but in every City, ἐπισκόπων ἐφ' ἑκάστης πόλεως, ſayes *Chryſoſtome*,

b In 1 Tim. Hom. 11.

stome, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν προηγησαμένων *b*, and *Theophilact* expresses κατὰ πόλιν by καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν, without exception of the smallness of the place or its nearness to others. The reason diverse Cities had none, was the want, or the inconsiderable number of Christians in them. Nothing but this hindered any City from having a Bishop in the four first Ages; though the greatest part of their Cities (as may be made manifest) were no greater than our Market-Towns or fairer Villages. And upon this account many Cities might want Bishops, and it may be did so, in *Egypt* particularly; *Heathenisme* prevailing in many places there, even in *Athanasius* his time; for which I could produce sufficient evidence; but will not now digress so far. Afterwards the affectation of *greatness* in *some*, was the occasion of new measures; and orders were made that Towns which had no Bishops before should have none after: though the reason why they had none before was gone; and those places had as many or more Christians in them, than most Episcopal Cities had of old.

c Athan. Apol. 2.

" For in *Athanasius* his time there were not an hun-
" dred Bishops in all *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* *c*.

I was a little surprized to read this, and see *Athanasius* cited for it. For I knew that *Athanasius* reckons 95 Bishops from *Egypt* besides himself, at the Council of *Sardica*; and others from *Africa*, wherein *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* are usually included; and it was never known that a major part or a third of the Bishops in a Countrey, did come to a *Council* at such a distance as *Egypt* was from *Sardica*. It is scarce credible that *Athanasius* would so far contradict himself, as to say there were not so many Bishops in all those *three* Countreys, when he had signifyed there were many more in *one* of them. Some mistake I thought there must be, and consulting the place I found it not intirely represented.

There

There is this Clauſe (immediately following the words he cites) left out, οὐδεὶς τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπῆτο, *none of theſe accuſed me*, whereby it appears that the meaning of the whole paſſage is this, *there was an hundred Biſhops in the Dioceſs of* Egypt *who appeared not againſt him*, or that favoured him. But thoſe who favoured *Arius* (whom he calls *Euſebians*) and *Meletius*, to ſay nothing of *Coluthus* (for into ſo many parties was that Countrey then divided) are not taken into the reckoning; otherwiſe it would have amounted to many more than an hundred. *Sozomen* ſayes the Biſhops there, who took *Arius* his part were many, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων *d*, and in *Athanaſius* there is an account of many *Meletian* Biſhops by name *e*; and in *Epiphanius* it is ſaid, that *in every Region* through which *Meletius* paſſed, and *in every place where he came he made Biſhops f.*

d *Lib.* 1. *c.* 14.

e *Apol.* 2. *p.* 614.

f *Ep. Hær.* 68.

The next thing he takes notice of is the defence of Mr. *Baxter's* Allegation out of *Athanaſius*, to ſhew, that all *the Chriſtians of* Alexandria (M. *B*'s words are, the main body of the Chriſtians in *Alexandria*) *could meet in one Church.*

"It is to be confeſſed that the expreſſions of that "Father ſeem to favour him, κρατεῖ πάντας εὐχεσθαι and that "the Church did πάντας δέχεσθαι hold all, *&c.*

I am made more confident by all that is ſaid to the contrary, that the evidence is really ſuch, as will need no favour, if it can meet with Juſtice.

"Now ſuppoſe that all the Chriſtians in *Alexandria*, "the Catholicks at leaſtwiſe, could meet together in "that great Church, yet all the Dioceſs could not.

All that was undertaken to be proved by the paſſage in queſtion, was, that the *main body of Chriſtians in* Alexandria adhereing to *Athanaſius* could, and did meet in that one Church. If this be granted nothing is denied that he intended to prove. As for a *Dioceſs* in the Countrey,

Countrey, if he will ſhew us what, or where it was, and that it *had no other Biſhop in it*, he will do ſomething that may be conſidered; yet nothing at all againſt what this Teſtimony was made uſe of to evince.

He ſayes 2dly, "Suppoſe this great great Church "could receive all the multitude, yet if that multitude "was too great for Perſonal Communion it is inſignifi- "cant.

Upon this *ſuppoſition* it might be too great for an ordinary meeting in the Congregational way, yet not big enough for a Dioceſan Church. But the *ſuppoſition* is groundleſs and contradicts *Athanaſius* who ſayes they had Perſonal Communion, *they all prayed together*, and did not only meet within the Walls, but *concurred in the worſhip, and ſaid, Amen.*

He ſayes 3dly, "Before the Church of *Alexandria* "met in diſtinct Congregations, but we are told that "*thoſe places were very ſmall, ſhort and ſtrait places.*

All theſe *ſave one*, I ſaid, which he ought not to have omitted. And they were ſo *ſmall*, becauſe thoſe who were wont to meet in them ſeverally, ſo as to fill them, could all meet in one Church, and did ſo as *Athanaſius* declares.

"But that they were ſuch Chappels or Churches, as "ſome of our Pariſhes in *England* have as great a num- "ber as *Alexandria*, is hardly credible.

I know not how thoſe places could be well expreſſed with more diminution than *Athanaſius* hath done it, he ſayes they were not only *ſtrait* and *ſmall*, but the very *ſmalleſt*. If he will make it appear that our Churches or Chappels are leſs than thoſe that were στεγνότατοι, I ſhall underſtand that which I could never before, that ſomething is *leſs* than that which is *leaſt of all*. But he will prove they were not ſo *ſmall*, becauſe firſt *the Church of* Alexandria *was very numerous from the begin-*

ning

ning. Why it ſhould be counted ſo very *numerous from the beginning*, I know no reaſon, but the miſtake of an *Hiſtorian* who will have a *Sect* of the *Jews* (which was numerous in or about *Alexandria*) to be Chriſtians.

"And if they met all in one place it muſt conſequent-
"ly be very large.

The ground of the conſequence is removed, *Valeſius* his own Author ſayes they had *but one Church to meet in, in* Dionyſius *his time*, almoſt 3 Ages from the beginning *g*. If that one was large, yet it is not like that it ſtood till *Athanaſius* his time; after ſo many *Edicts* for demoliſhing of all Chriſtian Churches, and a ſevere Execution of them in *Diocletian*'s Perſecution. g *pag.* 64.

"Nor is it likely they ſhould divide till they were
"grown too numerous for the biggeſt Meeting-place
"they could conveniently have.

It is as *likely* as that *Athanaſius* ſpeaks truth, in a matter which he perfectly knew; he tells us they did *divide*, and yet were not too numerous for *one great Church*, in which they met conveniently too; yea, better than when diſperſed in thoſe little places, as he ſayes and proves, τοῦτο ἐλαττον ἦν, *&c.*

2dly, He ſayes, "Though before the *Empire* was con-
"verted they might be confined to little places, and
"forced to meet ſeverally; yet after *Conſtantine* became
"Chriſtian, it is not likely that the *Alexandrians* would
"content themſelves with *ſmall* and *ſtrait* Chappels.

Nor did they content themſelves with thoſe little ones, for beſides this built in *Athanaſius* his time, there was one greater than thoſe ſmall ones finiſhed in *Alexander*'s time, where the body of Catholicks aſſembled with *Alexander*, the other places being too ſtrait, στενῶν ὄντων ἄλλων τῶν τόπων, this is *that one* I excepted, when I ſaid (after *Athanaſius*) that *the reſt, all ſave one, were exceeding ſmall.* But is it any proof that theſe were not

very ſmall which *Athanaſius* repreſents as ſuch, becauſe there was one (expreſly excepted from that number) ſomething larger? As for what he adds, that *then every ordinary City, built very great and magnificent Cathedrals*, it is eaſily ſaid, but will never be proved.

" 3dly, Some of theſe Churches had been built with " a deſign of receiving as many as well could have per- " ſonal Communion in Worſhip together.

Neither will this hold, unleſs ſome of thoſe Churches could have received *all*, which had *Perſonal Communion* with *Athanaſius* in this greateſt Church; which he denies, and makes uſe of to *Conſtantius* as a plea why he made uſe of the *greateſt*.

" As *Theonas* is ſaid by *Athanaſius* to have built a " Church bigger than any of thoſe they had before.

Where *Theonas* is ſaid by *Athanaſius* to have built a Church, *&c.* I find not, nor does he direct us where it may be found, I ſuppoſe for very good Reaſon. Indeed *Athanaſius* in this *Apology* ſpeaks of a Church called *Theonas* (it's like in memory of a former Biſhop of that place) where he ſayes the multitude of Catholicks met with *Alexander*, συνῆγον ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος; in like Circumſtances, as a greater multitude aſſembled with himſelf in the new Church, which was greater, and pleads *Alexander*'s example in defence of what he did. But *Theonas* could not build this Church, for he was dead many years before, being Predeceſſour to *Peter* whom *Achillas* and *Alexander* ſucceeded *h*.

h Euſeb. l. 7. c. ult. Theodoret l. 1. c. 2.

" And yet this and all the reſt were but few and ſtrait " in compariſon of the great multitude of Catholicks " that were in *Alexandria*.

I expected another Concluſion, but if this be all, he might have ſpared the premiſſes; for one part of it we aſſert, the other we need not deny, only adding with *Athanaſius*, that the *greateſt* Church was capable δέξασθαι πάντας, *of receiving this great multitude*. But

But here he sticks, and will wriggle a little more, "But "I conceive, sayes he, after all this, that the expressi- "ons of *Athanasius* do not conclude that all the Christi- "ans in *Alexandria* were met in this great Church.

That *all* and *every one* did come, was never imagined. It is but the *main body* of the Catholicks that M. *B.* intends, as our *Author* observes a little before.

"For the *tumultuous manner* in which they came to "their Bishop to demand a general Assembly, makes it "probable that not only Women and Children, would "be glad to absent themselves, but *many more*, either "apprehensive of the effect of this *tumultuous proceeding*, "or of the danger of such a crowd.

The Women he will not admit; but was it ever known that such a great and solemn Assembly for Worship consisted only of Men? Were not the Women in Communion with *Athanasius*'s Christians, that they must be left out, when he sayes all the Catholicks met? Can *all* be truly said to assemble when the *farr greater part* (*Women*, *Children* and his *many more*) were absent? Are not the Women in the *Primitive* Church often noted for such Zeal for the Worship of Christ, as made them contemn far greater dangers, than here they had any cause to be apprehensive of? The supposed *danger* was either from the *Crowd* or the *Tumult*. For the former, did *the Women* and *many more* never come to Christian Assemblies, when there was any danger of being *crowded*? I think there was as great danger from a *crowd* in *Basiliscus* his Reign, when the *whole City* of *C. P.* is said *to have met together in a Church with the Emperour*, but yet the *Women* stayed not behind but *crowded in with the men*, as *Theodorus Lector* reports it, πάντες ὁμοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ βασιλίσκου συναθροισθέντες i. Besides *Athanasius* here signifies the danger of a *crowd* was in the lesser Churches, (not in this)

i *Collect. lib.* 1.

where they could not meet but ὅπῃ κινδυνος συνοχῆς, and so prefers their assembling together in the great Church as better.

As for the *Tumults* (which might have been concealed in a *Vindication of the primitive Church*) if there was any thing *tumultuous*, it was over when *Athanasius* had complyed with their desires to meet in the great Church. And so no apprehension of danger left to *women*, or any else, upon this account.

" And even those that did assemble there were too " many for one Congregation, and was an assembly " more for Solemnity and Ostentation than for Personal " Communion in Worship, and the proper ends of a " religious Assembly.

Here he runs as cross, to the great *Athanasius* and the account which he gives of this Assembly as if he had *studied it*, debasing that as more for *Ostentation* than for *Personal Communion* in Worship, and the *proper ends* of a *Religious Assembly*, which *Athanasius* highly commends both for the more desirable *communion* which the Christians had there in *Worship*, and for the greater efficacy of it as to *the proper ends of a Religious Assembly*. Let any one view the passages *k* and judge. He sets forth the *harmony*, and *concurrence* of *the multitude* in *worship with one voice*. He preferrs it before *their assemblies*, *when dispersed* in little places, and not only because *the unanimity* of *the multitude was herein more apparent*, but because God would sooner hear them, ὅτῳ γὰρ ταχέως ὁ Θεὸς ἐπακούει. *For if*, sayes he, *according to our Saviour's promise*, *where two shall agree concerning any thing it shall be done for them by my Father*, &c. *how prevalent will be the one voice of so numerous a people*, *assembled together and saying Amen to God?* and more to that purpose, by which we may perceive, *Athanasius* being Judge, how true is it that this Assembly was more for *Solemnity*

k *Apol.2.p.531. 532.*

Solemnity and Oſtentation, than for Perſonal Communion in Worſhip and *the proper ends of a Religious Aſſembly.* And thus much to let us ſee through the *Arts* uſed to cloud a clear paſſage alledged out of *Athanaſius*; if M. *B.* had betaken himſelf to ſuch *little deviſes*, in like Circumſtances; our *Author* would have taken the Liberty to tell him, that he was driven to hard Shifts.

Before we leave *Alexandria* I am to take notice of what is ſaid by our *Author*, to part of a Letter writ by a Friend to M. *B.* concerning this *City* and the number of Chriſtians therein in *Conſtantius* his time. The *Writer* of it obſerves a groſs abuſe put upon him in the *Vindicator*'s Anſwer to it, and deſires his defence may be here inſerted. It contains an argument to confirm what was concluded from that paſſage in *Athanaſius* here inſiſted on, that the Catholicks *then could meet in one place.* After that *paſſage* and to this purpoſe M. *B.* introduced it, as is very apparent *l.* This our *Author* ſeems to obſerve *when he begins* with it; *he adds*, ſayes he, *to this of* Athanaſius (the very paſſage mentioned) *another argument given him by a learned Friend m.* And *after* he hath done with it *n*, *becauſe M.* B. *has endeavoured to repreſent the Church of* Alexandria *ſo inconſiderable even in* Conſtantius *his dayes*, &c. And yet, how it comes to paſs I know not, it is quite out of his thoughts while he is examining it. He was ſo haſty for confuting, that he ſtaies not to take notice what he was to confute, though the intent of it be moſt plain and obvious, both by the *occaſion* and *words* of the *Letter*: But Forces that ſenſe on it, and makes that the deſign of it; which I was far from thinking, would ever come into any man's Fancy, when he was awake. The words of the Letter are theſe; *The City of* Alexandria, *ſayes* Strabo, *is like a Soldiers Cloak*, &c. *and by computation about ten miles in compaſs, a 3d. or 4th. part of this was taken up with publick*

l Church Hiſt. pag. 9. 10.

m Pag. 58.

n Pag. 63.

publick buildings, Temples and Royal Palaces; thus is two miles and an half or three and a quarter taken up. He answers," I will not say this *learned friend* hath imposed " on M.*B.* but there is a very great mistake betwixt them.

But the mistake is his own, and such a one, as I wonder how he could fall into it. He takes it for granted, that the Argument is brought to prove what Christians *Alexandria* had in *Strabo*'s time. Here is not the least occasion given for this, unless the citing of *Strabo* shewing the dimensions of that City: but *Primate Usher* is quoted too, on the same account; and so as much reason to fancy the design was to shew what Christians *Alexandria* had in the *Primate's time. Jerome, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen* are also cited there; why could not these as well lead him to the right Age, which their words plainly point at, without the least glance at any Age before, as *Strabo* alone (cited without any respect to the time when he writ) so far mislead him? Nay, the 4th. age is expresly mentioned in the Letter; and the numerousness of the *Novatians* and *Arians* in *Alexandria* at the time intended, is insisted on; could he think any man so stupid, that had but the least acquaintance with those things, as to speak of *Arians*, and *Novatians* in *Strabo*'s time? But it may be, though I would hope better, our *Examiner* was too inclinable to fix an absurd thing upon the *Writer* of the *Letter*; that he might be excused, from giving a better answer when it was not ready.

But let us hear what he sayes to it; yet what can be expected to be said by one who makes his own dream the Foundation of his Discourse? However let us try if we can find any one clause that is *true and pertinent* in the whole, and begin with the best of it.

Though *Strabo* sayes that Temples and great Palaces took up a 4th. or a 3d. of the City, yet our *Examiner* will

will have us think there might be inhabitants there; when *Epiphanius* ſayes, as I cited him, that part was ἔρημος, deſtitute of Inhabitants, ſo he tells us *Bruchium* was. The Examiner denies not *Bruchium* to be that Region of the City which *Strabo* ſayes, *was taken up with Publick Buildings*, but adds, *what all the publick buildings of the Town in one Region?* But who ſaid *all* the Publick Buildings? This is his own fancy ſtill.

" And that an outer skirt too, as it is deſcribed by " the Greek *Martyrology* in *Hillarion*, &c.

If he mean it was not a Part or Region of the City *Strabo* and *Epiphanius* will have Credit before a *Story* out of the Greek *Martyrology*, or him that tells it, when it appears not in the words cited. In *Strabo* it is μέρος *part of the City*, in *Epiphanius* it is a *Region*, ἐν τῷ βρουχίῳ καλουμένῳ κλίματι. For as *Rome* was divided into 14 *Regions*, and *C. P.* in imitation of it, ſo *Alexandria* was divided into 5, whereof *Bruchium* was one, and the greateſt of all. So I underſtand *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who upon the loſs of *Bruchium* ſaith, *amiſit regionum maximam partem quæ Bruchium apellatur*; *Alexandria loſt the greateſt of its Regions, which was called* Bruchium.

de pond. ut mens p. 166.

" This *Epiphanius* ſayes was deſtitute of Inhabitants in " his time, and not unlikely, and perhaps deſtitute of " Publick Buildings too, for it was *deſtroyed* after an " obſtinate ſiege in the Reign of *Aurelian* as *Ammianus* " *Marcellinus*, or of *Claudius* as *Euſebius*.

When he hath granted all that I deſigned, *that this part was deſtitute of Inhabitants*, and more too, that it was *deſtroyed*, yet he would have the City *no leſs, no neceſſity of this*, ſayes he, ſure we are not yet awake? can a City looſe τέταρτον ἢ καὶ τρίτον τοῦ πάντος περιβόλου μέρος, in the *Hiſtorian's* words, a 4*th. yea, or a third part of its largeneſs*, and yet not be ſo *much the leſs?* He hath nothing to ſalve this, but it *may be*, and it *might be*, ground-

groundleſs ſurmiſes, without either reaſon or authority.

"They might inlarge upon another quarter, being it "may be forbid to build *Bruchium*—— they might "dwell cloſer than before, and ſo their multitude be un-"diminiſht.

How far it is from being true, that *their multitude was undiminiſht*; and *how needleſs either to inlarge— or to dwell cloſer*, may ſoon appear. The multitude muſt needs be much diminiſhed in ſuch a War, and a cloſe ſiege of many years continuance, for ſo it is reported both by *Euſebius* and *Jerome*; and it was much waſted and in a conſumptive condition, before it was thus beſieged and diſmantled by *Claudius* 2. or *Aurelian*.

in Chronic.

It was greatly diminiſhed in numbers by *Caracalla* who Maſſacred a great part of the Inhabitants. *Herodian* ſayes, τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο φόνος ὡς ῥείθροις αἵματος, &c. *the ſlaughter was ſuch that with the ſtreams of bloud, which ran from the place, not only the vaſteſt outlets of* Nilus, *but the Sea, all along the Shore of* Alexandria *was diſcoloured o.* Towards the latter end of the third Age, *Dionyſius* gives an account of the ſtrange diminution of the *Alexandrians p*, ſignifying that in *former daies the elderly men were more numerous, than in his time, both young and old, comprizing all from infancy, to extream old age*, ἀπὸ νηπίων ἀρξαμένη παίδων, μέχρι τῶν εἰς ἄκρον γεγηρακότων.

o *Hiſt. Lib.* 4.

p *In Euſeb. lib.* 7. *cap.* 22.

"However certain it is, that this City long after the "deſtruction of *Bruchium*, retained its ancient Great-"neſs; and is repreſented by no Author as diminiſht ei-"ther in Number or Wealth.

This is *certain* no otherwiſe than the former, *i.e.* quite the wrong way. For not long after the deſtruction of *Bruchium*, in the *Egyptian* War made by *Diocletian* upon *Achilleus*, which *Euſebius*, *Eutropius* and others mention: It was greatly *diminiſht both in numbers and wealth.* For *Alexandria* after a long ſiege, was taken by force and

and plundred, great Execution done upon the Citizens, and the Walls of the Town demoliſhed.

A great part of the City (ſayes the Letter) *was aſſigned to the* Jews, *ſo* Strabo *indefinitely as* Joſephus *quotes him, others tell us more punctually, that their ſhare was two of the five diviſions; though many of them had their habitations in the other diviſions, yet they had two 5th. parts intire to themſelves; and this is I ſuppoſe the* τόπος ἴδιος *which* Joſephus *ſayes the Succeſſors of* Alexander, *ſet apart for them; thus we ſee how 6 or 7 miles of the* 10 *are diſpoſed of.* To this he ſayes, "The number of thoſe "*Jews* was much leſſened within a little while after "*Strabo* by an inſurrection of the *Alexandrians* againſt "them.

I ſuppoſe he means by that ſlaughter of them which *Joſephus* mentions *q*, where 50000 were deſtroyed; but what were theſe to the vaſt number of *Jews* in *Egypt*, which *Philo r* ſayes amounted to no leſs than a million?

q *De Bello Judaic. l.2. c.21.*

r *Legat. ad Caium.*

"The civil Wars afterwards under *Trajan* and his "Succeſſor had almoſt extirpated them.

It was in *Paleſtine* where theſe Tragedies were acted, and was ſo far from extinguiſhing them in *Egypt* or *Alexandria*, that thereby, in all probability; their numbers were there increaſed; for being diveſted of about 1000 Towns and Garriſons by *Severus* (*Adrian*'s General) as *Dion* reports, and forbidden all acceſs to *Jeruſalem* as *Ariſto Pelleus* in *Euſebius ſ*, this made other places more deſireable, thoſe particularly where they might have good entertainment as they were wont to have at *Alexandria*, and what *Dion Chryſoſtome* ſayes, confirms it.

ſ *Lib. 4. cap. 6.*

But all this which he ſayes, if there were *truth* in it, is impertinent; for the *Letter* is not concerned what *Jews* were there near *Strabo* or *Adrian*'s time, but in

the fourth Age. Yet *this is all* that he hath to say to the rest of the *Letter*, besides the publishing and repeating of his own mistake, and upon no other ground making himself sport with the Writer of it.

Thus he begins, *by the same rule he might have disposed of all at once, and concluded out of* Strabo's *division of the Town, that there was not one Christian in it*: and repeats it thrice in the same Page, *No matter what number of* Jews *or Heathens it had in* Strabo's *dayes*——, *it is kindly done to provide for Christians before they were in being, surely* Strabo, *who makes the distribution, never intended the Christians one foot of ground in all that division, and this learned Friend might have spared his little Town of* 8 *or* 10 *Furlongs, which he so liberally bestows upon the Bishop of* Alexandria, *before our Saviour was born*——, and he is at it again several times in the following discourse *t*.

t Pag. 69. 94.

How desirable a thing is it to have M. *B.* and *his Friend* render'd ridiculous? when rather than it shall not be done, our *Examiner* will publish his own indiscretion so many times over to effect it. But I will forbear any sharper reflections upon this *Author*, for taking him to be an ingenuous Person, I may expect he will be severe upon himself, when he discerns his errour; which I doubt not but he will see clearly by once more reading that Letter.

Next he would disprove M. *B*'s representation of the Church of *Alexandria* in *Constantius*'s time, by giving a view of that Churches greatness from the first Foundation of it *u*; which because it may concern the *Letter* duly understood, I shall take some notice of it very briefly. But there is something interposed, between this and the *Letter*, which requires some observance; there we may have an instance of this Gentleman's severity upon M. *B.* and how reasonable it is; "His remark, sayes he, "upon two Bishops living quietly in *Alexandria* is so "disinge-

u Pag. 61.

" disingenuous a suggestion, that he hath reason to be " asham'd of it.

But what is there in this so *disingenuous and shameful*? Does not *Epiphanius* say this, and our Examiner acknowledge it *b*? Ay, but M. *B.* means that there were not only two Bishops, but their *distinct Churches* in this City. Well, and does not *Epiphanius* give him sufficiground for it? Does he not tell us that *Meletius* made Bishops, who had their ἰδίας ἐκκλησίας in every place where he came? Does not signifie that the *Meletians* in *Alexandria* had their *distinct Churches* or Meetings both in the time of *Alexander* and *Athanasius*? sayes he not particularly of *Meletius* that *being* familiar with *Alexander* he stayed long in that City, having ἰδίαν σύναξιν σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις *a distinct Meeting with those of his own Party*? Were there not innumerable Cities in that Age which had *two* Bishops and their Churches, some *three* or *four* at once (those of the *Arians*, the *Donatists*, the *Novatians*, the *Meletians*, &c. besides those who were styled *Catholicks*) Would this Gentleman take it well if M. *B.* should tell him, that he who denies this is disingenuous if he know it, and hath some reason to be ashamed if he know it not? Ay, but *Epiphanius* was deceived in this account of the *Meletians*, and mis-represents them. Indeed our *Examiner* makes as bold with *Epiphanius* (a Bishop of great Zeal and Holiness, a Metropolitan, a famous Writer (as he does with M. *B.* charging him with *much weakness* (as one easily imposed upon) *many oversights, gross mistakes, diverse absurd things, and such Stories*, that he will scarce wish worse to his Adversary, than to believe him *c*. Nor does *Epiphanius* alone fall under his censure in his *Vindication of the Primitive* Church (as he calls it) he goes near to *accuse more* particular Persons (Bishops amongst others) of eminency in the antient Church, than he *defends*; so that one

b Pag. 107.

c Pag. 112. 113. &c.

may ſuſpect his deſign was, not ſo much to defend *eminent Biſhops*, as *great Biſhopricks* ſuch as the antient Church had none, and to run croſs to M. *B.* more than to vindicate any.

" In St. *Mark's* time *Alexandria* had ſeveral Churches, though but one Biſhop, *&c d.*

d *Euſeb. l. 2 c. 16*

What *Euſebius* ſayes of Churches in *Alexandria* at that time, is grounded upon a miſtake, as appears, becauſe immediately after the words cited, he adds, *ſo great was the multitude of Beleivers at* Mark's *firſt attempt there, that* Philo *in his writings thought fit to give an account of them*, ὡς καὶ γεγραφῆς ἀξιῶσαι τὸν Φίλωνα. *Euſebius* conceived that the *Eſſenes*, as *Scaliger*, or the *Therapeutæ*, as *Valeſius*, whom *Philo* deſcribes, were the Chriſtians of *Mark's* Converſion; and there being Aſſemblies of that Sect of the *Jews* in *Philo's* time, the Hiſtorian ſpeaks of Chriſtian Churches at *Alexandria* in *Mark's* time; but thoſe who believe that he erred in the former, can have no reaſon to give him credit in the latter. Our *Examiner* does not deny that he was miſtaken, but ſayes, *it is not material whether they were Jews or Chriſtians*; yet thoſe who inquire after Truth ſincerely, will think it *material*; and little value a Teſtimony which hath no better ground than a miſtake.

e *Pag. 62.*

The next is no better *e*, that is an Epiſtle of *Adrian*, which others are puzzled to make ſenſe of, or ſuch ſenſe as can have any appearance of Truth. That very paſſage in it, which is the only ground of our *Author's* Argument, himſelf acknowledges to be falſe; for he would ſhew the Chriſtians in *Alexandria* to be numerous enough for his purpoſe, becauſe it is there ſaid that *ſome* (whom he takes to be Chriſtians) did *force the Patriarch* (whoever he be) *to worſhip Chriſt*, and yet adds, *there is no doubt but Adrian does the Chriſtians wrong in this point, for they never forced any to their Religion.*

Religion. Will he have us to rely upon reasonings, which have no better Foundation, than what is *undoubtedly false* by his own Confession? He sayes also *it is not material to our purpose whether this Patriarch were Bishop of* Alexandria, *or chief Governour of the Jews*. If so, then it is not *material* with this *Gentleman*, either to argue from that which is not true, or else from that which is nothing to his purpose. For if this Patriarch was the Bishop of *Alexandria*, that they *forced* him to worship Christ, is *not true*, he did it of his own accord: and if it be not one, who was no Christian, that they forced; then is not any thing in this passage to his purpose, and *Adrian*'s Epistle might have been waved as a meer impertinency.

That which follows *f*, hath not the shew of a reason, f Pag. 63.
" the great Catechists of *Alexandria*, as *Pantenus*, *Cle-*
" *mens*, *Origen* and *Heracles*, did not a little advance
" the growth of Christian Religion in that place, *&c.*

Must there needs be a *Diocesan Church* there because the *Catechists* did advance Religion not a little?

The next concerning *Dionysius* his Church meeting at *Chebron* (*Cephro* it should be) and *Colutlio*, is already fully answered, as it is offered with better improvement than our *Examiner* gives it *g*. It cannot easily be apprehended how a larger Church meeting with *Dionysius*, made up of those banished with him, and others from several parts of *Egypt*, at *Cephro*, a Village in *Lybia*, a distinct Province; should prove that he had a *Diocesan* Church in *Alexandria*, to any, but those who are very inclinable to believe it without proof. Nor will others understand that *Dionysius* is better proved to be a Diocesan by the Christians which came from *Alexandria* to *Colutlio* in *Mareotes*; (there being none there besides) for the Believers in *Alexandria* it self, were no more than one Church could hold, as *Valesius* collects g No Evidence for pag. 35, 36.

from

from this very place to our *Examiners* regret, *Ex hoc loco colligitur, ætate quidem Dionysii, unicam adhuc fuisse Alexandriæ Ecclesiam, in quam omnes Urbis illius fideles, Orationis causâ, conveniebant* h.

h Not. in Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 11.

In the next Paragraph our *Examiner* argues for the great numbers of Christians at *Alexandria*, from the multitude of Martyrs at *Thebes*.

" Under the Persecution of *Diocletian* what numbers " of Christians might be at *Alexandria*, may be judged " by the multitude of Martyrs that suffered at *Thebes* i, " &c.

i *Pag.* 64.

But here he mistakes *Eusebius*, who gives an account not of the Martyrs which were ἐν Θήβαις, in the *City Thebes*, but κατὰ Θηβαΐδα, the *Province Thebais* : which was half of that large Kingdom, according to the antient division of it into the *upper* and *lower Egypt*. The *Superiour Egypt* was *Thebais*, the *inferiour* was called sometimes the *Delta*, sometimes *Egypt* in a restrained sense, and this division in these terms we have in *Eusebius* (to go no further) a little before k, κατὰ Θηβαΐδα καὶ Αἴγυπτον, where he begins his account of the Martyrs in this Countrey. Now if the Christians in that Provice of large extent, and comprising very many Cities may be concluded to be very numerous from the multitudes of Martyrs which suffered there; yet nothing at all can be inferred for any numbers to his purpose in the City *Thebes*, by which he would conclude their numerousness in *Alexandria*. But if M. *B.* had mistaken one City for so large a Countrey with multitudes of Cities in it, and made that mistake the ground of his reasoning; it is like our *Examiner* would have exposed him for it in his *Preface*, as he does for some lesser matters.

k *Cap.* 6.

In the following Paragraph *l*, there is a groundless supposition, that the division of *Alexandria into Parishes was antienter than Arius*, there being no mention of it

l *Pag.* 65.

by

by any antient Author: as also an accusation of *Petavius* as mistaking *Epiphanius* his words, without any cause that I can discern in those words, though he says, *it is plain* there. That which he sayes is plain, the learned Dean of *Paul's* could not discern, but understood *Epiphanius* as *Petavius* and others did before him. These I took to be preliminaries and expected his Argument, but found it not, unless it be couched in the first words. *Serm. of Separation p.* 28.

"The Division of *Alexandria* between several Pres-
"byters, as it were into so many Parishes, *&c.*

But this signifies nothing for his purpose, if those in *Alexandria* thus divided could all meet in one place, as *Athanasius* declares they did; and that so plainly that any one will judge so, whose interest is not too hard for his judgment. *Valesius* (who had no byas unless what might lead him the other way) understood it as I do; and expresses it in these words. (deciding the matter so long insisted on, against our Author) *Afterwards in the times of* Athanasius, *when there were more Churches built by diverse Bishops of* Alexandria, *the Citizens assembled in several Churches severally and in parcels, as* Athanasius *sayes in his Apology to* Constantius; *but on the great Festivals, Easter and Pentecost, no particular assemblies were held,* sed universi in majorem Ecclesiam conveniebant, ut ibidem testatur Athanasius, *but all of them assembled together in the great Church as* Athanasius *testifies.*

So that there can be no pretence that the Church in *Alexandria* was *Diocesan* at this time, unless those who could meet together in one place might make such a Church. Yet this was then the greatest Church in the *Empire* save that at *Rome*, and what he adds makes that at *Rome* very unlike such *Diocesan* Churches, as are now asserted.

"*Valesius*

"*Valesius* inferrs from the same passage of Pope *Inno-*
"*cent's* Epistle to *Decentius*, which *Petavius* brings to
"prove the contrary, that though there were several
"*Titles* or Churches in *Rome* then, and had been long
"before, yet none of them was as yet appropriated to
"any Presbyter, but they were served in common as
"great Cities in *Holland* and some other reformed
"Countreys, that have several Churches and Mini-
"sters, *&c.*

The Advocates for *these* Churches, who assign the bounds of a *Dioceſs* with most Moderation, will have it to comprize a City with a *Territory* belonging to it; but there was no Church in the Territory which belonged to the Bishop of *Rome*, he had none but within the City, as *Innocentius* declares in the cited Epistle, whereas now the greatest City with a Territory larger than some antient *Province* is counted little enough for a *Dioceſs*. Further it is now judged to be no Dioceſs which comprises not very many Churches with Presbyters appropriated to them; but he tells us none of the Churches in *Rome* were appropriated to any Presbyter, but they were *served in common*. How? as greater Cities in *Holland* and some other reformed Countreys, and then they were ruled *in common* as these Cities are. The Government of many Churches is not there, nor was of old, ever entrusted in one hand; and thus the Bishop of *Rome* was no more a *Dioceſan* than the Presbyters of that City.

m *Pag.* 66. He concludes *m* with two Assertions which will neither of them hold good. The first *that it is evident out of* Athanasius *how the Bishop of that City had from the beginning several fixed Congregations under him.*

This is so far from being *evident* in *Athanasius*, that he hath not one word which so much as intimates that the Bishop of *Alexandria from the beginning* had any such Congregations under him. The

The other is *that those of Mareotes must be supposed to receive the faith almost as early as* Alexandria.

How true this is we may understand by *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* towards the latter end of the third Age, who declares that then *Mareotes* was ἔρημος ἀληθῶν καὶ σπερμάτων ἀνθρώπων n, it was so far from having any *true* Christians in it, that it had none of our *Author's old Christians*, i. e. *virtuous*, *good men* o. Nor is it likely that the faith was there generally received till many years after; and therefore not almost so early as *Alexandria*, unless the distance of above 200 years will consist with his *almost*. For *Alexandria* received the Faith by the preaching of *Mark*, who arrived there, sayes *Eusebius*, in the 2d. of *Claudius* p, others in the 3d. of *Caligula* q. But in the time of *Dionysius* it doth not appear that *Mareotes* had so many Christians, as Bishop *Ischyras* his Church *there* consisted of, though those were but seven, ὁ πλέον ἑπτὰ τῶν συναγομένων ἔχων r. But enough of *Alexandria*, though our *Author* is far from bringing enough to prove it even in the 4th. age a *Diocesan* Church. He may be excused for doing his utmost to this purpose, considering the consequence of it, for if this Church was not now so numerous as to be *Diocesan*, it will be in vain to expect a discovery of any such Churches in the whole Christian World in those times; for this is acknowledged to be the greatest City and Church in the *Roman Empire* next to *Rome*. So that there cannot be so fair a pretence for any other inferiour to this, such as *Jerusalem*, *Carthage*, *Antioch*, &c. much less for ordinary Cities, which were 10 times less considerable than some of the former, as may be collected from what *Chrysostome* sayes of one of them λέγω πόλεως πέντε δυνατὸν εἶναι διατρέφειν, that it was able to maintain the poor of ten Cities *f*.

So far the Writer of the Letter. Let me now return to our *Author's Preface*; To shew that the Christians

n *Euseb. l. 7. c. 11.*

o *pag. 60.*

p *Chron. Euseb.*

q *Chron. Alex.*

r *Athan. Apol. 2. pag. 615.*

f *In Mat. Hom. 67.*

in *Alexandria* adhereing to *Athanasius* were not so exceeding numerous as is pretended, and not to be compared with the Christians now in *London*, I had said, *that the greatest part of the Inhabitants of that City were at this time Heathens or* Jews; *of those who passed for Christians, it is like* Athanasius *had the lesser share* u, *the* Novatians *and other Sects, the* Meletians *especially, and the* Arians, *did probably exceed his flock in numbers, it may be the* Arians *there were more numerous.* This last clause (which appears by the expression, I was not positive in) he alone fixes on, and would disprove it by a passage out of *Athanasius*. But the Greek is false printed, and and the sense defective for want of some word, and so no Judgment can be well passed thereon, unless I saw it; and where to see it he gives no direction. My concern therein is not so great as to search for it through so voluminous an Author. It will serve my turn well enough, if the *Arians* were but very numerous, or as *Sozomen* expresses them, ὀλίγη μοῖρα τῦ λαῦ w, which cannot be denied, though they *alone* were not more numerous. The last thing he would take notice of, is the Dioceſs of *Theodoret*, but this is remitted to the *Dean of* Paul's, yet one thing he sayes he cannot omit; though some may think that he had better have passed it (as he had many other things); than being so much in haste, to slip at almost every line, as he does in those few which concern it.

u Pag. 34.

w Lib. 1. c. 14.

If these 800 *Churches, not* 80 *as this Gentleman reckons them* (it was not he but the *Printer* that so reckoned them, as the *Errata* shew) *belonged to him as Metropolitan, and they were all Episcopal Churches* (I never met with any before, that took them for *Episcopal Churches*, and how he should fall into this mistake I cannot imagine; I will not believe that he creates it, to make himself work) *this poor Region of* Cyrus *would have more*

Bishops

Biſhops than all Africa (not ſo neither, for by the *conference at* Carthage, and the *abbreviation* of it by St. *Auſtin*, much more to be relyed on, than the *Notitia* publiſhed by *Simond*, which is neither conſiſtent with others, nor with it ſelf, *Africa* had many more Biſhops than 800) *notwithſtanding they were more numerous there than in any part of the World beſides.* Nor will this paſs for true with thoſe, who take his own account concerning their numbers in *Africa* (which he reckons but 466 taking in thoſe of the *Schiſmaticks* too; about 66 for each Province one with another, counting them as he does *ſeven*:) and the account which others give of their numbers, in the antient *Roman Province*, the *Kingdom of* Naples, the *Iſland Crete*, *Ireland*, to ſay nothing of *Armenia*, and other parts of the World. *Vindic. p. 14*

That which follows, is I ſuppoſe, inſtead of an *Anſwer* to the *other part* of my *diſcourſe* concerning the *popular election* of Biſhops, which this *Gentleman* was as much concerned to take notice of, as of the few paſſages he hath touched in the *former part*, why he did not I will not enquire further, but ſatisfie my ſelf with what is obvious; eſpecially ſince he tells us he intends a diſcourſe of ſuch a Subject. If in this deſigned work he ſatisfies me, that it was not the *general practice of the antient Church, for the People to concur in the choice of their Biſhops*, he will do me a greater diſpleaſure, than the confutation of what I have writ, or any other that I can fear he intends me; by taking me off from further Converſation with *antient Authors*, as perſons by whoſe Writings we can *clearly* know nothing. For if *that point* be not *clear* in Antiquity. I can never expect to find any thing there that is ſo.

I intended to conclude this diſcourſe here, without giving the Reader further trouble; but conſidering there are miſapprehenſions about the Subject in que-

ſtion, thoſe being taken by diverſe, for *Dioceſan Churches* which indeed are not ſuch, and arguments uſed to prove them ſo which are not competent for that purpoſe, (of which there are many inſtances, as elſewhere ſo particularly in the latter end of this Authors diſcourſe): I thought it requiſite for the rectifying of theſe miſtakes, and to ſhew the inſufficiency or impertinency of ſuch reaſonings, to give an account what *mediums* cannot in reaſon be eſteemed, to afford competent proof of *Dioceſan Churches*.

In general, Thoſe who will ſatisfy us that any Churches, in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, were *Dioceſan*, ſhould prove them to be ſuch *Dioceſans* as ours are, as large or near as large; otherwiſe what they offer, will ſcarce appear to be pertinent. For the riſe of this debate is the queſtion between us, whether the Biſhops of theſe times be ſuch as thoſe in the *primitive* Church. This we deny, becauſe modern Biſhops will have *another ſort of Churches* or Dioceſes, than were known in the beſt Ages. Not that we reject all Dioceſes or Dioceſan Churches, for both παροικια and Διοικησις are uſed by the Antients for ſuch Churches as we allow. It is thoſe of a later Model, that we approve not, as vaſtly differing from the antient Epiſcopal Churches. The modern *Dioceſes*, and Churches thence denominated are exceeding great and extenſive, conſiſting of many ſcores, or many hundred particular Churches, whereas for the three firſt Ages we cannot find 3 Biſhops that had *two* particular Churches in his Dioceſs, nor in the 4th. one in 50 (if I may not ſay one in a hundred) that had *more*. So that the difference is exceeding great, and more conſiderable in the *conſequence* thereof, which I had rather give an account of in the words of the very learned D. *St.* than mine own. *Dioceſes generally*, ſayes he, *in the primitive, and Eaſtern Churches were very ſmall*

and

and little, as far more convenient for this end of them in the Government of the Church under the Bishops charge x, and elsewhere, *Discipline*, says he, *was then a great deal more strict, Preaching more diligent, Men more apprehensive of the weight of their Function, than for any to undertake such a care and charge of Souls, that it was impossible for them even to know, observe or watch over, so as to give an account for them* y, *Men that were imployed in the Church then did not consult for their ease and honour, and thought it not enough for them to sit still, and bid others work* z. St. *Austin* speaking of the 3d. Age, makes account of *many thousand Bishops then in the World* a. Our *Author* seems to treat that excellent Person something coursely on this occasion, and goes near to question his judgment or veracity for it, b some may think this not over decently done (to say no more) when it is his business, to vindicate some antient Bishops who need it, to reflect upon one, so untainted, as to need none. However since he says that *Father judged of other Ages by his own, when Dioceses were exceedingly multiplyed* c, we may suppose he will grant there were *many thousand Bishops* in the 4th. Age. Yet among so many thousand Bishops I do not expect that any can shew me 20 (if I may not say 10.) who had so many Churches in their *Dioceses*, as some *Pluralists* amongst us may have, who yet never pretend to have a *Diocesan Church*. Those therefore who will make proof of such *Diocesan Churches* as are in question, must shew us some in the *primitive times* something like ours in largeness and extent. Amongst the instances produced for this purpose by former or later Writers, I find none any thing near to ours, save that only of *Theodoret* in the 5th. Age. But this in the former Discourse was shewed to be so insufficient to serve the ends it is alledged for, that I may hope it will be prest no more for this Service.

x *Iren. p. 376.*

y *Pag.* 332.

z *Pag.* 333.

a *Contra Cresc. lib.* 3.

b *Pag.* 534.

c *Pag.* 535.

More

More particularly. 1ſt. It proves not a Church to be *Dioceſan* becauſe it conſiſts of more than can meet together in one place, for there are Pariſhes in this Land that contain many hundreds or thouſands more than can meet in the Pariſh Church, and yet are but counted ſingle Congregations. Though multitudes in ſuch Churches be far from proving them to be *Dioceſan*, yet I think *two* inſtances cannot be given in the third Age of more in one Church than are in ſome ſingle Congregations amongſt us; nor many afterwards, till *Arianiſm* and *Donatiſm* were ſuppreſſed; which the latter was not in *Africa* till after the famous Conference at *Carthage*, Anno 410; nor the former in other parts during the 4th. Age; for though *Theodoſius* made ſome ſharp Declarations againſt them and other Hereticks, yet none but the *Eunomians* were proſecuted, if we believe *Socrates* [d]; that Emperour gave not the leaſt trouble to the reſt, *forced none to communicate with him*, but allowed them *their Meetings*, and even in *C. P.* when afterwards the *Arians* divided among themſelves, each party had ſeveral Congregations in that City [e]; both that which adhered to *Marinus*, and that alſo which followed *Dorotheus*, theſe keeping the Churches *which they had before* and the other erecting *new Churches*.

d *Lib.* 5. *c.* 20.

e *Lib.* 5. *c.* 23.

I know there are thoſe, who from ſome paſſages in *Tertullian* [f], would infer that the Chriſtians in his time were the major part of the Inhabitants in all Cities, and ſo enough not only for vaſt Congregations, but for *Dioceſan Churches*. But *Tertullian* was a great Oratour and frequently uſes hyperbolical expreſſions, which ought not to be ſtreined. Such are thoſe inſiſted on, and by regular conſtruction they import no more than that the Chriſtians were very numerous in many parts of the Empire. Thoſe that will have them ſtreined, and underſtood

f *Apol. c.* 37. & *ad Scapulam.*

derſtood as they ſound, offer great injury to *Tertullian*, making him intend that which hath no warrant in any Records of Antiquity, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, that I can meet with. Before they impoſe ſuch a ſenſe on him, they ought in reaſon to make it manifeſt, that the Chriſtians were the *major part* of the inhabitants in ſome conſiderable Cities at that time; when I believe they cannot produce *two* inſtances in the *whole* Empire, I never yet could meet with *one*.

Our *Author* from theſe Oratorical expreſſions ſticks not to conclude, that it is evident that the Chriſtians were the *major part every where*, *but in* Rome *more eminently ſo*, and Dr. *Downham* ſignifies that *Tertullian ſpeaks chiefly of the City of* Rome *g*, this Gentleman ſayes, *that by his account it is made very probable*, *that they were the better half of the* Roman *Empire*, and tells us, *it is certain that the number of Chriſtians at* Rome *was proportionably greater than in any part of the Empire.* Now how far the Chriſtians at *Rome* were from being the *major part* of the Inhabitants, we may judge by the vaſt diſproportion between the poor in the Church at *Rome*, and thoſe in the whole *City*. *Cornelius* near 50 years after *Tertullian* (when it was of more growth by half an Age) reckons the poor of his Church to be 1500; whereas out of *Suetonius* and others, the poorer ſorts of Citizens, *quæ è publico victitabat*, are computed to be 320000 *h*.

g *Defence l. 2. c. 5. p. 98.*

pag. 54.

h *Lipſius de Mag. Rom. l. 3. cap. 2.*

Many take occaſion from the thouſands converted at *Jeruſalem*, Acts 2. and 4. to conclude the vaſt number of Chriſtians and exceeding largeneſs of Churches elſewhere. Our *Author* hath nothing from *Scripture* for Dioceſan Churches but this, which is conſiderable *i*; nor will this appear ſo, if but a ſmall part of thoſe thouſands can be counted inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, and ſo fixed in that Church. And this is as demonſtrable as

i *Pag. 435, &c.*

any

any thing of this nature can be. For this miraculous Conversion was at *Pentecost*, one of the three great *Feasts*, when there was a vast concourse of *Jews and Proselytes from all parts* to that City. These converted were not only Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* but Forreigners; and in all reason *more* of these proportionably, as they exceeded the Inhabitants in number. And then those of the City will scarce be a 20th part of the 5 or 8000 *Converts*. For the Forreigners that resorted to *Jerusalem* at these great Solemnities are reckoned to be three millions, ἐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων μυριάδων *k*, whereas the Inhabitants of that City were but about an 120000 περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας, but of this elsewhere more fully.

k *Joseph de Bel. Judaic. Lib. 2. cap. 24.*

The Author of the Vindication will not have so great a part of those *Converts* to be *Strangers*, and to return home when the Feast was over, and assigns something like reasons for it.

" 1st, That the Scripture gives no countenance to this " Conjecture, but sayes all those strange Nations were " Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and the Original word in- " clines most on this side.

That he should say the *Scripture gives no countenance to this*, is something strange. It is plain in Scripture, that God injoyned the Children of *Israel* to repair to *Jerusalem* from all quarters of the Countrey where they dwelt thrice a year, for the observance of the three great *Feasts*. And it is apparent also that they were wont to come up to *Jerusalem* at those Solemnities, both *Jews* and Proselytes, διὰ τὸ πᾶσα συνελήλυθασι πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν *a*. And it is evident in that Chapter cited, *Acts* 2. The Feast of Pentecost being come, there was a resort of Jews and Proselytes from all those parts of the World to this City. Ay, but the Scripture sayes, *all those Strange Nations were inhabitants of* Jerusalem.

a *In Euseb. l. 2. c. 23.*

He

He can't judge that the Scripture sayes this, but upon a supposition that the word κατοικοῦντες, *Acts* 2. 5. can signify no other thing than *inhabitants*, but this is a mistake, for the word denotes such as *abide* in a place, not only as *inhabitants*, but as *strangers* or Sojourners. Thus Dr. *Hammond* will have it translated *abiding*, rather than dwelling *b*, *those that were there as Strangers c*, and here expresses those *abiding at* Jerusalem, to be *Jews which came up to the Feast of the Passeover, and Proselytes which had come from several Nations of all Quarters of the World.* Thus also Mr. *Mead d*, for *the word* κατοικοῦντες, saith he, *which I translate sojourning rather than dwelling (for so I understand it, that they were not proper dwellers, but such as came to worship at* Jerusalem *from those far Countreys, at the Feast of the Passeover and Pentecost, and so had been continuing there some good time) it is true that in the usual Greek*, οἰκέω and κατοικέω *signify a durable mansion, but with the Hellenists in whose Dialect the Scripture speaketh, they are used indifferently for a stay of a shorter or longer time, that is, for to sojourn as well as to dwell, as these two examples out of the Septuagint will make manifest*, Gen. 27. 44. 1 Kings 17. 20. *there* κατοικεῖν *is to sojourn only. In a word* οἰκέω *and* κατοικέω *answer to the Hebrew Verb* שָׁכַן *which signifies any stay or remaining in a place.* *Grotius* saith it answers the Hebrew word which is render'd not only by κατοικεῖν but παροικεῖν, *&c.* adding, therefore it is not said only of them *who had fixed their habitation, but of those who were come to the City for the celebrating of the Passeover or Pentecost, staying there for a while.* The best and most learned Expositors generally take it so in this place, as denoting, not *settled Inhabitants*, but such as resided there only for a time. Indeed when this Author would have the Scripture say all these *strange Nations were inhabitants of* Jerusalem, he makes it speak things inconsistent.

b *In loc.*
c *In Act.* 10.2.
d *In Exercit. in Act.* 2. 5.

an occasional recourse of strangers, who inhabit remote parts or forreign Countreys.

If there had been more Christians in the Church of *Jerusalem* than could meet in one place, that would be no Evidence that it was a *Dioceſan* Church, whereas the whole is said in the *Acts* to meet in one place *l*. He hath nothing to say against this which is considerable, but that the *all*, *may denote only those that were present m*, and so the sense will be, all that were in one place, were in one place, if this can please himself, I think it will satisfie none else. Let Dr. *Hammond* decide this business, for in such a cause we may admit a Party to be Umpire *n*, *What follows*, saith he, *of the paucity of Believers, and their meeting in one place, is willingly granted by us. What they say of the point of time*, Acts 2. 41. *that believers were so numerous, that they could not conveniently meet in one place, this is contrary to the evidence of the Text, which saith expresly* ver. 44. *that all the believers were ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, which in the last Paragraph they interpreted meeting in one and the same place: the like might be said of the other places*, Acts 4. 3. *and* 5. 14. *for certainly as yet, though the number of Believers increased, yet they were not distributed into several Congregations.*

l *Act.* 2. 44. 6. 2. &c.

m *Pag.* 441.

n *Answer to L. Ministers. pag.* 78. 79.

Concerning the dispersion, *Acts* 8. 1. *o* he tells us, "Though they are all said to be scattered besides the "Apostles, yet it cannot be understood of all the Be- "leivers.

o *P.* 442. 443.

No, but of the generality of them, all that could commodiously fly as strangers might do. Nor must it be confined to *all the Officers* only, the generality of Expositors are mis-represented if this be made their sense, nor doth it appear that *Eusebius* so understood it, μαθηταὶ is used in *Scripture* and *other Writers*, and *Eusebius* himself, to denote Believers and not Officers only. As for the

the *time* of the diſperſion (though I need not inſiſt on it) probably it was nearer this *great Pentecoſt* than ſome would have it. On the firſt day of the week in the morning were the three thouſand converted, the next or (as ſome tell us) the ſame day afternoon, at the ninth hour *p*, the number of the Converts was increaſed to five thouſand. While this Sermon was preaching the Apoſtles are apprehended and committed to Cuſtody till the next morning. Another, it is like the day after, they are impriſoned, but enlarged by an Angel in the night, *chap.* 5. In or near that week were the ſeven Deacons choſen, preſently after the Diſciples were thus increaſed and the Apoſtles impriſoned and diſmiſſed. The expreſſion ſignifies it, *chap.* 6. 1. It is not ἐν ἐκείναις, in thoſe daies which may admit a latitude and ſome good diſtance of time, but ἐν ταύταις, in theſe dayes, which denotes the time inſtant, or that which immediately enſues, without the interpoſure of any ſuch diſtance. And ſo the phraſe is uſed by St. "*Luke* both in the Goſpel and in the *Acts*. It is Dr. "*Hammond*'s obſervation upon *Luk.* 1.39. The phraſe "ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις, in theſe dayes, ſaith he, hath for "moſt part a peculiar ſignification, differing from "ἐν ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, in thoſe daies. The latter ſignifies "an indefinite time, ſometimes a good way off, but the "former generally denotes a certain time then preſent, "inſtantly, then at that time; ſo here, that which is "ſaid of *Mary*'s going to *Elizabeth* was ſure immediate-"ly after the departing of the Angel from her, and "therefore it is ſaid ſhe roſe up μετὰ σπουδῆς, very haſtily, "ſo *ver.* 24. μετὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας, *i.e.* immediately *Eliza-*"*beth* conceived, ſo *chap.* 6. 12. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις, *i.e.* then, at that point of time he went out to the Mountain. See *Chap.* 23. 7. *c.* 24. 18. *Acts* 1. 5. *c.* 11. 27. *and* 21. 15.

p D. L.

Imme-

Immediately after the choice of the Deacons, *Stephen* one of the *Seven* is apprehended ἅμα τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, *as soon as ever he was ordained, as if he had been ordained for this alone*, saith *Eusebius* (l. 2. c. 1.) And at the same time the Persecution began which dispersed that Church. Whereas he saith, 'whatsoever numbers were forced away; it 'is likely they returned, if he understand it of the *strangers* driven from *Jerusalem*, that they returned to fix there, or otherwise than occasionally, it is no more likely nor will be sooner proved than what he asserts a little after (pag. 444.) viz. *that the empty Sepulcher preached with no less efficacy than the Apostles.*

This is enough to satisfy what our Author would draw out of Scripture concerning the Church of *Jerusalem.* After some trifling about Objections which he forms himself, and then makes sport with, he comes to prove that *Jerusalem* was a *Diocesan* Church in the Apostles time. But first he would have us believe that *James was the proper Bishop of that Church*, and would evince it by two Testimonies, that of *Clemens* and *Hegesippus.* But what sayes his *Clemens?* He saith not only *that* James *was ordained Bishop of* Jerusalem *presently after our Saviour's Ascension*, but what I think our Author was loth to mention. If he had given us the intire sentence it might have been better understood. *After the Ascension of our Saviour*, Peter, James *and* John, *the most honoured by our Lord, would not yet contend for the first degree of honour*, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, *but chose* James *the just Bishop of* Jerusalem, *Apostolorum Episcopum.* *Ruffinus* reads it, This seems to signify that his being made a Bishop there, was some degree of Honour above their being Apostles. A learned *Romanist* tells us *q*, that the books where *Eusebius* had this did so abound with Errours, that they were not thought worth

q Valez.

worth preserving, and so are lost (as those of *Papias* and *Hegisippus* are for the same reason) this may prove *one* instance of those many Errours. That which seems to be the sense of his words is more fully expressed by one who goes under the name of *Clemens* too *r*, *James the Lord's Brother was Prince of Bishops, and by his Episcopal Authority commanded all the Apostles*, and so the former *Clemens* in *Ruffinus* calls him *the Bishop of the Apostles f.* If he means such a Bishop as ours (and otherwise his meaning will not serve our Authors purpose) then the *Apostles* were but the *Vicars* or *Curates* of *James.* This is bad enough if *James* was an *Apostle*, the absurdest Papist will scarce ascribe as much to *Peter.* But if he was not an Apostle, it is yet more intolerable. If our Author can believe his own Witness, some may admire, but I think few will follow him.

r *l.2. Recognit.*

f *Hist. l.2. c.2.*

Let us hear *Hegesippus* (not quite so antient as this Gentleman makes him, since he was alive in the Reign of *Commodus*) he sayes, *James* ruled that Church μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. If we take this as it is render'd in *Jerome after the Apostles*, it is not only against *Grammar*, but without Truth, and makes *James* to be Bishop when he was dead, for he was martyred about the 4th. of *Nero*, and all the Apostles but the other *James* survived him. But if the meaning be that he ruled that Church *with the Apostles*, it speaks him no more the Bishop of *Jerusalem* than the rest of the Apostles, who were not fixed or *topical* Bishops, but Oecumenical Officers of an *extraordinary* Office and Power and accordingly is *James* described. One antient Author sayes that he no less than *Peter* did ἐπιτρέπων τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναδέξασθαι. And *Epiphanius* reports *t*, that *Hyginus* after *James*, *Peter* and *Paul was the ninth Bishop of* Rome successively, signifying that he was as much Bishop of *Rome*

t *Hæres. Cerdon.*

Rome as *Paul* and *Peter*. I need not quote that other Author who ſayes *he ruled the holy Church of the* Hebrews, *as alſo he did all Churches every where founded* u.

u *Ep. to James.*

"However certain it is that *James* was Biſhop of *Je-*
"*ruſalem*, not only from *Hegiſippus* and *Clemens Alex.*
"but alſo from St. *Paul*, who mentions him as one of
"the *Apoſtles* that he had Converſed with in *Jeruſalem*,
"and it is likely there were no more there at that time
"but he and *Peter*.

This is no way certain from *Clemens* and *Hegeſippus*, and ſo far from being *certain* by St. *Paul*, that his mentioning him as an *Apoſtle* makes it rather *certain* that he was not a Biſhop; for the Offices of an *Apoſtle* and of a *Biſhop* are inconſiſtent, as is acknowledged and proved by an excellent Perſon of your own. w "The Offices
"of an Apoſtle and of a Biſhop are not in their nature
"well *conſiſtent*, for the *Apoſtleſhip* is an extraordinary
"Office, charged with the inſtruction and Government
"of the whole World, and calling for an anſwerable
"care (the Apoſtles being Rulers, as St. *Chryſoſtom*
"ſaith, *ordained* by God, *Rulers not taking ſeveral Na-*
"*tions and Cities, but all of them in common intruſted*
"*with the whole world*) but *Epiſcopacy* is an ordinary
"ſtanding charge affixed to one place, and requiring a
"ſpecial attendance there, Biſhops being Paſtors who,
"as *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, *do ſit, and are imployed in one*
"*place*. Now he that hath ſuch a general care can
"hardly diſcharge ſuch a particular Office, and he that
"is fixed to ſo particular an attendance, can hardly look
"well after ſo general a charge, *&c.* *Baronius* ſaith of
"St. *Peter*, that *it was his Office not to ſtay in one place,*
"*but as much as it was poſſible for one man to travel over*
"*the whole world, and to bring thoſe who did not yet believe*
"*to the Faith, and throughly to eſtabliſh believers.* If ſo
"how could he be Biſhop of *Rome*, which was an Office

w Dr. *Barrow Suprem. p.* 120, 121.

in-

" inconsistent with such vagrancy. It would not have " beseemed St. *Peter* the prime Apostle to assume the " charge of a particular Bishop, it had been a degrada- " tion of himself, a disparagement to the Apostolical " Majesty for him to take upon him the Bishoprick of " *Rome*, as if the *King* should become Mayor of *London*, " as if the Bishop of *London* should be Vicar of *Pan-* " *cras*. And little before, St. *Peter*'s being Bishop of " *Rome (it holds as well of* James's *being Bishop of* Jerusa- " lem) would confound the Offices which God made di- " stinct, for God did appoint first Apostles, then Prophets, " then Pastors and Teachers, wherefore St. *Peter* after he " was an *Apostle* could not well become a *Bishop*, it would " be such an irregularity as if a Bishop should be made a " Deacon.

" Ecclesiastical History makes *James* the ordinary Bi- " shop and *Diocesan* of the place.

There is nothing in Ecclesiastical History for it, but what is derived from *Hegesippus* and *Clemens*, whom others followed right or wrong.

" It is strange to see *Salmasius* run his head so vio- " lently against such solid Testimonies as those of *Hege-* " *sippus* and *Clemens*.

That great person understood things better, and discerned no danger in *running his head* against a shadow, and there is nothing more of Solidity in what is alledged from those Authors.

Further he would prove it a *Diocesan* Church by a passage in *Hegesippus*, who sayes, " that several of the " *Jewish* Sectaries who beleived neither a Resurrection " nor Judgment to come, were Converted by *James*, " and that when a great number of the Rulers and " principal men of the City were by this Ministry " brought to believe the Gospel, the *Jews* made an " Uproar, the Scribes and Pharisees saying, that it was

"to be feared that all the people would turn Christians *x*.

x *Pag.* 446.

He sayes many of the *prime Sectaries* were converted by *James*, but this will scarce prove such a *Diocesan* Church as he contends for. That which would serve his turn (*that all the people would turn Christians*) was not *effected*, but only *feared* by the *Jews*, who took a course to prevent it by killing *James*. But if this were for his purpose, *Hegesippus* is not an Author to be relied on, part of the Sentence cited is false, *that the Sects mentioned* (and he had mentioned seven) *did not believe the Resurrection nor Judgment*, whereas the Pharisees and others of them beleived both, which *Valesius* observes. One false thing in a Testimony is enough to render it suspected, but there are near twenty things false or fabulous in this account he gives of *James*, many of them marked by *Scaliger y*, divers by *Valesius z*, and some acknowledged by *Petavius a*.

In *Euseb.*2.*c.*23.

y *Animad. in Euseb. p.* 178.
z *In Euseb. l.* 2. *cap.* 23.
a *Not. ad Heres* 78.

He would not have us suspect that the numbers of the Church at *Jerusalem* were not so great as he pretends, because *Pella*, an obscure little Town, could receive them all besides its own Inhabitants, "but we must understand that Town to be their *Metropolis*, and the "Believers all scattered through the whole Countrey, "and this as *Epiphanius* writes.

But where does *Epiphanius* write this? Not in the place cited, he writes the contrary both there and elsewhere, that *all the Believers* (in one place *b*) that *all the Disciples* (in another place) πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ ᾤκησαν ἐν Πέλλῃ *c*, what he adds is but to describe where the Town was situated, all *the Disciples*, *all the Believers* dwelt beyond *Jordan* in *Pella*. Archbishop *Whitgift* brings this as a pregnant proof that the Christians at *Jerusalem* were but few in comparison (and no more than could all meet *in one place*, as a little before he affirms

b *Epiph. Her.* 30.

c *De Ponder. & Mens. cap.* 15.

firms again and again) his words are how few Chri-
"stians was there at *Jerusalem* not long before it was de-
"stroyed, being above Forty years after Christ? Does
"not *Eusebius* testifie *d* that they all were received into a
"little Town called *Pella*? yet the Apostles had spent
"much time and labour in Preaching there; but the
"number of those that did not profess Christ in that
"City was infinite *e*. This might be farther cleared by
what *Epiphanius* saith of that Church in its return from
Pella, but I design briefness.

d *Lib.* 3. *cap.*

e *Defence of An*
swer. Treat. 3.
6. *pag.* 175.

Our Author adds one Testimony more, to shew that under the Government of *Simeon* great numbers were "added to that Church, many thousands of the Cir-
"cumcision receiving the Christian Faith at that time,
"and among the rest *Justus*, *&c. pag.* 448.

But those who view the place in *Eusebius* will see, that he does not say those many of the Circumcision were converted by *Simeon*, or were *under his Government*, or belonged to that Church; and so it signifies nothing for his purpose. And so in fine, the account wherewith he concludes his Discourse of *Jerusalem* will not be admitted by any who impartially consider the Premisses.

As for his other Scripture instances, there is not so much as the shadow of a proof shewed by him, that there were near so many Christians as in *Jerusalem*, or as are in some one of our Parishes, yea, or more than could meet in one place, either in *Samaria* (where he sayes it *appears not what kind of Government was established*, *pag.* 451.) or in *Lydda*, which was but a Village, though a fair one, and far from having *Saron* for its proper Territory, that being a plain between *Joppa* and *Cæsarea*; or in *Antioch*, *pag.* 452. much less in *Corinth* and *Ephesus* which he advisedly passes by, *pag.* 456.

Our Author does in effect acknowledge that in Scripture it appears not that these Churches were *Episcopal*, much less *Diocesan*; "It is to be confessed, saies he, "*pag.* 461. that the Scriptures have not left so full and "perfect an account of the Constitution and Govern- "ment of the *first* Churches, *&c.* Thus we have no "more notice of the Churches of *Samaria* and of *Judæa* "(*Jerusalem* excepted) than that such were founded by "the Apostles; but of their *Government* and *Constitution* "we have not the least Information. What *information* then can we have that they were *Diocesan* or *Episcopal?* He goes on, "And the prospect left of *Antioch* in Scrip- "ture is very confused, as of a Church in *fieri*, where a "great number of eminent persons laboured together "to the building of it up; but only from *Ecclesiastical* "Writers, who report that this Church, when it was "settled and digested, was committed to the Govern- "ment of *Euodius*, and after him to *Ignatius*, *&c.* So that after what form the Church at *Antioch* was constituted does not appear (it may be Congregational and not Diocesan, for any thing this Gentleman can see in Scripture) but only from Ecclesiastical Writers.

But his *Ecclesiastical Writers* do so contradict one another as renders their testimonies of little value. Nor is there much more reckoning to be made of the *traditional* account they and others give concerning the Succession and Government of the first Bishops, than this Author makes of *Eusebius* his *traditional* Chronology, *pag.* 454. Some make *Euodius* the first Bishop and he being dead *Ignatius* to succeed him *f*; on the contrary some will have *Ignatius* to have been the first, and make no mention of *Euodius g*; others will have them to have governed that Church both together *h*; some will have *Euodius* ordained by *Peter*, and *Ignatius* by *Paul*, others report *Ignatius* ordained by *Peter*, and some modern

f *Euseb. l. 3. c. 22.*

g *Chrys. Orat. in Ignat.*

h *Clemens Constitut. l. 7. c. 46.*

dern Authors of great eminency, both Proteſtants and Papiſts (not only *Baronius* but Dr. *Hammond*) find no more tolerable way to reconcile them, than by aſſerting that there were more Biſhops than one there at once, which quite blaſts the conceit of a *Dioceſan* Church there.

And what is alledged for the numbers of Chriſtians there, to ſupport this conceit of a *Dioceſan* Church, is very feeble, *pag.* 452, 453. *A great number believed*, *Acts* 11. 21. and *much people*, *ver.* 24. The next verſes ſhew, that there were no more than *Paul* and *Barnabas* aſſembled within one Church; meeting ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, for a year together, and there taught this ἱκανὸν or πολὺν ὄχλον. The ſame divine Author ſayes, *Acts* 6. 7. πολὺς ὄχλος, *a great Company of the Prieſts were converted*, and will this Gentleman hence conclude that there were Prieſts enough converted to make a *Dioceſe*?

He hath no ground from Scripture to think otherwiſe of *Rome* (that we may take in all his Scripture inſtances together) however he would perſwade us that there were ſeveral Congregations there in the Apoſtles times. Let us ſee how. "By the multitude of "Salutations in the end of that Epiſtle he makes appear "the numbers of Chriſtians in that City. Salute *Priſ-* "*cilla* and *Aquila* with the Church that is in their "houſe.

The *Dean of Pauls* will have this Church in their houſe to be but a *Family*, this Author will have it to be a *Congregation*, as if it might be either to ſerve a turn. I think it was ſuch a Congregation as removed with *Aquila* from one Countrey to another, for this Church which was in their houſe at *Epheſus* before, (1 *Cor* 16.) is ſaid to be in their houſe at *Rome*, *Rom.* 16. that is, there were ſome of the Church which belonged to their Family.

Family. It is a queſtion whether there was now at *Rome* any one Congregation ſuch as our Author intends, Rom. 16. *Grotius i* thinks it probable *there was none at all.* But let us ſuppoſe this to be a Congregation, where finds he his ſeveral others? why where another perſon would ſcarce dream of any? "It is not improbable, ſaith he, "that ſeveral that are mentioned with all *the Saints that* "*are with* them, may be the Officers of ſeveral Congre- "gations, *pag.* 457. 458.

But it is manifeſt that in the Apoſtle's times one Congregation had many Officers, how then can ſeveral Officers be a good Medium to prove ſeveral Congregations? The antient Authors which count thoſe Officers (mentioned *Rom.* 16.) do make them *Biſhops* (and ſome except not *Narciſſus* nor *Priſca*, i. e. *Priſcilla*, tho' her Husband alſo hath an Epiſcopal Chair aſſigned him) Now if they were not Biſhops at *Rome* but other places, they are alledged to no purpoſe; if they were Biſhops at *Rome*, there will be very *many* Biſhops in that *one* Church (it may be more than *Priſcilla*'s Congregation conſiſted of) which rather than our Author will grant, I ſuppoſe he will quit his plurality of Congregations here. Indeed what he adds next doth no waies favour them, and this number was afterwards in- "creaſed conſiderably by the coming of *Paul*, who con- "verted ſome of the *Jews*, and afterwards received all "that came, whether Jew's or Gentiles, and preached "to them the Kingdom of God for the ſpace of two "whole years, no man forbidding him, *pag.* 458.

Paul preached at *Rome* in *his hired houſe for two years*, all this while he received *all that came* to him; there is no queſtion but that all the Chriſtians there did come to hear this moſt eminent Apoſtle: ſo that it ſeems from firſt to laſt there were no more Chriſtians at *Rome* than a private Houſe could receive.

He

He would prove what he intends from *Nero*'s Per-
"secution, who is said to have put an infinite multitude
"of Christians to death upon pretence that they had
"fired *Rome*, pag. 458. *Tacitus* speaks of the Christi-
"ans as guilty, and sayes they confessed the Crime, and
"detected many others.

Now those who suffered, either confessed that they fired *Rome* and then they were no Christians; or they did not confess it, and then he wrongs them intolerably, and deserves no credit. But our Author to excuse him (against the sense of such who best understand him, *Lipsius* particularlay, besides *Baronius* and others) sayes, *they confessed not that they* burn't *Rome, but that they were Christians.* Whereas the inquiry being concerning the burning of *Rome*, the question was not whether they were *Christians*, but whether they *fired* the City, of this last *Tacitus* speaks, and will be so understood by those who think he speaks pertinently. But for truth in those accounts he gives of Christians, it is no more to be expected than from other Heathen Authors of those Ages, with whom it is customary on that subject *splendidè mentiri.* Some other instances hereof we have in this report of *Tacitus*, which I suppose our Author will scarce offer to excuse, as when the Christian Religion is called *Exitiabilis superstitio*, and when the Christians are said *per flagitia invisos vulgò fuisse.*

But suppose he speaks truth, what is it he sayes? Nero *put an infinite multitude of them to death*, but *ingens multitudo*, which are his words, may be far less than an *infinite multitude.* Two or three hundred may pass for a great multitude, and extraordinarily great, when that which is spoke of them is extraordinary. The Martyrs burnt in Queen *Mary's* dayes were a *great multitude*; and few may be accounted very many, to suffer

ſuffer in ſuch a manner, as theſe did by *Nero's* Cruelty, *Ferarum tergis contecti ut laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defeciſſet dies in uſum nocturni luminis uterentur*, in the words of *Tacitus*.

To this he adds the general account which *Euſebius* gives of the ſucceſs of the Chriſtian faith immediately after the firſt diſcovery of it, *that preſently in all Cities and Villages Churches abounding with innumerable multitudes were aſſembled*, &c. *pag.* 459.

If he will not deal unkindly with *Euſebius* he muſt not ſet his expreſſions upon the Rack, nor ſtretch them beyond his intention, nor forget what is obſerved to be uſual with him; *Oratorum more rem amplificare.* Theſe Churches conſiſting of *innumerable multitudes* are ſaid to be not only in *all* Cities, but *Villages*; now I believe it will be an hard matter for our Author to ſhew us any *Villages*, even in *Conſtantine's* time, where there were a Thouſand, yea, or 500 Chriſtians. Thoſe who will not abuſe themſelves or their Readers muſt give great allowance to ſuch expreſſions, and not rely on them in ſtrict arguing.

And here it may not be amiſs to take notice of what he ſayes of *Rome* in another *Chapter*, M. *B.* had declared, *that he found no reaſon to believe that* Rome *and* Alexandria had for 200 years more Chriſtians than ſome *London* Pariſhes (which have 60000 Souls) nor near, if half ſo many *k*. The chief, if not the only argument to prove them at *Rome* more numerous, is a paſſage in *Cornelius* his Epiſtle ſhewing the number of the Officers and of the poor, this was in the middle of the third Age, and ſo not within theſe 200 years, but yet proves not what it is alledged for in *Cornelius's* time, near *Anno* 360. The number of Officers ſignifies no ſuch thing, as hath been made evident, the number of

k Church Hiſt. p. 7. Vindicat. p. 27.

the

the poor, being 1500 rather proves the contrary. This was cleared by comparing the proportions of the poor with the reſt in other places, at *Antioch* in particular, as was ſhewed out of *Chryſoſtome*, who reckons the poor to be a tenth part of the Inhabitants, and if it was ſo at *Rome* in *Cornelius*'s time, the Chriſtians were about 15000. This will ſerve M. *B*'s purpoſe well enough. But the time and circumſtances being exceeding different, makes it moſt probable that the Chriſtians then at *Rome* did nothing near ſo much exceed the poor in number. It is far more likely that the proportions were nearer that at *Conſtantinople*, where *Chryſoſtom* ſayes, the poor was *one half*, this would ſpoil all our Authors pretenſions, and ſo he adviſedly takes no notice of it.

However ſomething he would ſay againſt M. *B*. if one, could underſtand it. It is about the word θλιβόμενοι in *Cornelius*'s Epiſtle render'd the *poor*. *Valeſius* obſerves the word is uſed by the *Roman Clergy* in an Epiſtle to thoſe at *Carthage*, *ſive Viduæ ſive Thlibomeni*, i. e. *indigentes*, ſaith he, as *Rufinus* tranſlates it, and tells us alſo that *Cyprian l* calls them *pauperes & indigentes qui laborant*. Theſe, ſayes our Author, were not only *poor*, *but ſick and diſeaſed*, alledging that of the *Roman Clergy* for it after *Valeſius*, and if he mean not only the poor, but the ſick alſo and the diſeaſed he is right, for *Cornelius* ſignifies thoſe that were maintained by the Church, Widows and Indigent whether ſick or well. But when he ſayes *theſe poor were ſuch only as were not able to come abroad*, he ſeems to confine it to the ſick and diſeaſed, and then it contradicts the former, and is without reaſon, againſt the uſe and import of the word, as render'd by all Interpreters former and later that I meet with, and indeed againſt common ſenſe; for the number *Cornelius* ſpeaks of is fixed, as that of the *Presbyters and Deacons*,

l Ep. 4.

such as may be constantly known and a certain account given of it, whereas the number of the *sick* is not fixed, but such a contingency as is very uncertain and various.

But *Cornelius* sayes in the same Epistle *that the people of his Church were innumerable.* True, that is, according to the frequent use of the word, very many (it is granted they were more than in any other Church) as when *Dio* sayes the Nations conquered by *Trajan* were innumerable, and *Socrates* expresses those wounded in the fight between the Christians and Heathen in *Alexandria* about the demolishing of an Idol Temple were ἀναρίθμητοι *m*, which in *Sozomen* is but *many n*; and another *antient Author* sayes there were *innumerable Bishops in Africa*, which yet this Gentleman can easily *count*, and tells us that Schismaticks and all were but 466 *o*. M. *B.* may allow him what he falls short in this reckoning, which is more than half, and may grant there were many more hundreds of Christians in *Rome* than any of these *innumerables* come to, and yet make good what he supposes.

m *Lib.* 5. *c.* 15.
n *Lib.* 7. *c.* 15.
o *Pag.* 131.

The great liberality of the *Roman* Church is offered as no small argument of its greatness, *they sent to a great many Churches, releiving those that were in want, and sending necessaries to such as were condemned to the Mines*; thus in *Severus*'s time, and in the time of *Dionysius the Provinces of* Syria *with* Arabia *were thereby relieved every one, pag.* 53.

M. *B.* need not doubt, but some one Parish near him might do what is equivalent to this, if the antient Charity were revived, which opened the hearts of Christians in those times further than their Purses could well extend.

But the words are odly stretched, for they did not relieve every one in all those places, but such as were *in great want*, and those particularly who were *condemned*

to

to the Mines; and ἐπιχειρεῖν must denote as *it were the al-sufficiency of the Roman Church*, which some would say is, *as it were Blasphemy*, but our Author meant better, the proper import of the word is no more than *stipem conferre*.

He alledges two passages in *Eusebius* p, the *former* concerns not *Rome* more than any other place in the *Empire*, the import of it is this, not that every soul of every sort, but that many of all sorts were lead to the Christian Religion, if πᾶσαν ψυχὴν be stretched to every soul *Eusebius* is made to speak what is in a manner notoriously false, and monstrously extravagant. The *later* which concerns *Rome* does but signify, *that more of Good quality for Riches and Birth with their Families and Relatives came over for Salvation* q. These he will have to be of the *Nobility*, but those were counted noble who descended from such as had been Magistrates in Cities or free Towns. How this can make that Church near so great as our Author would have it, or greater than M. *B.* supposes, I don't understand.

p *Pag.* 54.

q *Lib.* 5. *c.* 21.

What he subjoyns is very surprizing and must seem strange to those who are acquainted with the state of Church in those times, *that the Christians were the better half of the Roman Empire, that they were the major part every where, but in* Rome *more eminently*. This hath no good warrant from antient Authors, no, not from *Tertullian*, though he writ many years after *Commodus*. He like an Oratour *draws something bigger than the life* (as our Author sayes of *Nazianzen*, pag. 137.) and must have allowance on this account by those who will not be injurious to him. In that very Age wherein *Commodus* reigned, it is said *the Christians were so often slaughtered that few could be found in* Rome *who professed the name of Christ* r. And near 150 years after, when *Constantine* had reigned near 20 years in *Rome* the *gene-*

Pag. 54.

r *Platina vitâ Xysti.*

rality of the Inhabitants ſhewed ſuch diſaffection to Chriſtianity, as that is given for one reaſon why he transferred the ſeat of the Empire to *Byzantium* ſ.

ſ *Zoſimus, Hiſt. l. 2. p. 61.*

He runs beyond M. *B's* bounds towards the middle of the third Century, and tells us *the greateſt part of* Alexander Severus *his Family were Chriſtians.* And ſo they might be, and yet no more Chriſtians in *Rome* for that, if they were Chriſtians before they came into his family, which is more likely than that they were converted in it. However many more ſuch Additions will not increaſe that Church beyond M. *B's* Meaſures, nor make it near ſo numerous as that Pariſh to which *Whitehall* belongs.

Pag. 55.

What he next offers neither concerns *Rome*, being general expreſſions, nor M. *B.* referring to the Ages after thoſe which he is concerned for, whether by μυριάνδρους ἐπισυνάγωγας we underſtand the great multitudes which were gathered into the Chriſtian Profeſſion (as *Valeſius*) or that aſſembled together for Chriſtian worſhip (as our Author) is not material; though the former is more likely, unleſs we can think *Euſebius*, an elegant Writer, would uſe ſo much *tautology* in ſo few lines. That from which he may expect more ſervice is the next expreſſion, which he renders *the multitude of their Meetings in every City*, but may with better reaſon be render'd, the *numerouſneſs or multitudes of thoſe that aſſembled in ſeveral Cities.* For it is ſo far from being true, that every City had *many Congregations* of Chriſtians in it; that there were many Cities long after, which had no Chriſtians in them. And two inſtances cannot be given of any Cities in the whole Empire that at this time had more Congregations than one; unleſs where they all might have aſſembled in one place, they thought it better in Prudence to diſperſe themſelves into ſeveral Meetings. For in *Alexandria*, which was the greateſt City next to *Rome*,

Rome, and the most populous Church in the whole World, there is no appearance of more assemblies till the end of the tenth Persecution, and the death of *Peter* Bishop there, who suffered in the ninth year of it *t*. And therefore the *elegant gradation*, in discovering of which this Gentleman would have us take notice that he has a more comprehensive faculty than *Valesius*, seems not very well founded.

t *Euseb. l. 7. c. 32.*

That which follows is an hundred years or more beyond the time to which M. *B.* limits his Assertion, "About this time or not long after *Rome* had above "40 Churches, which we must not imagine to be built "all at the same time, but by degrees, according as the "number of Believers did require; *&c. pag.* 55.

Pag. 55.

From the number of Churches he can't reasonably conclude such a multitude of Christians as he contends for. There were many Churches in *Alexandria* when *Athanasius* was Bishop of it, and yet there were no more Christians in his communion than could meet together in one place. *Baronius* tells us, that there was a City in *Germany which had* 400 *Churches in it*; and yet no reason to think that Town was comparable for Circuit and Populousness, either to *Rome* or *Alexandria*. If I should say that in *Optatus* there were not so many Churches, but the number mistaken by the Transcribers, this would be as good an answer as that of our Author, who will have the 12 or 14 years of *Athanasius* his Banishment in *Epiphanius* not to be so many moneths, and that years are put instead of moneths by the mistake of the Copies, *pag.* 113. Or that other about the number of Bishops in the Council at *Antioch*, where he will have 30 in diverse Authors to be a mistake of the Transcribers for, 90 (or 97 or 99. *u*) *Onuphrius* must have liked such an Answer to this of *Optatus*, who tho' he was as much concerned for the greatness of the *Roman* Church

Anno 1084, *n*. 1.

u *pag.* 123, 124, 125. *Interpret voc. Eccles.*

Church as any, and no leſs inquiſitive into the antient ſtate of it, yet delivers it as a thing manifeſt and certain, that *Rome* had but 28 *Titles*, and this number not compleated till the *fifth Age*. But there's no need to inſiſt on any thing of this nature, it is not ſo material how many Churches there was, as when there was ſo many, and about the time he will have *Blondel* to miſtake, and M. *B.* to follow him therein; he had been nibbling at *Blondell* a little before upon a ſmall occaſion and with as little reaſon, as might be ſhew'd, if it were fit to follow one in his Vagaries. Let us ſee whether here he doth not follow *Valeſius* in his miſtake, who will have *Optatus* to ſpeak of the Churches at *Rome* in the *time of* Diocletian's *Perſecution*, *tempore perſecutionis Diocletiani w.* But *Optatus* ſpeaks of thoſe Churches when extant and capable of receiving Congregations, as is plain by his words; but what Churches were at *Rome* or other places, in the very beginning of that Perſecution, were all quite demoliſhed, and that *in one day*, ſayes *Theodoret x*, or the *Paſchal dayes*, as *Euſebius y*; and there's no probability they could rebuild them while the Perſecution laſted, or that ſo many could be raiſed in leſs than many years after. *Nicephorus* ſpeaks but of 14 Churches at *Conſtantinople* in the reign of *Theodoſius* junior, nor meet I with any Author that gives an account of more, yet this was about an hundred years after *Byzantium* was re-edifyed, and both *Conſtantine* and the ſucceeding Emperours endeavoured to make that City as populous as could be, and furniſhed it with Churches anſwerable to the numbers of the Inhabitants. So that there's no likelihood there could be 40 Churches in *Rome* at any time nearer *Dioclefian*'s than *Optatus*'s.

w In Euſeb. lib. 6. c. 43.

x Hiſt. l. 5. c. 38.

y Chron.

l. 7. c. 49.

But to help this our Author tells us out of *Optatus*, that

that there were three *Donatists* Bishops at *Rome* successively before *Macrobius*, who was Contemporary with *Optatus*, and that the first of them was *Victor Garbiensis*, and he will have *Optatus* to speak of the State of *Rome* (the 40 Churches there) not as it was in his own time, but in that of this *Victor*, when this was, he sayes, is not easie to fix. *pag.* 56.

Yet this is certain, it cannot be in the time of *Diocletian's Persecution*, for the Schisme of the *Donatists* did not break out till *Majorinus* was ordained (who was the first Bishop of the Faction made in *Africa* or elsewhere) and this was sometime after the Persecution was there ended, as *Optatus* and *Valesius* after him, and others declare z; and sometime must be allowed after this for the *Donatists* settling in *Rome*, and such an increase of them there as to need a Bishop. *Baronius* makes this *Victor* to be Bishop in *Silvester's* time, which might be long enough after *Diocletian's* Persecution, for he lived till 335. All which our Author hath to alledge for the more early date of *Victor's* Bishoprick, is that there were two or three Donatist Bishops between *Victor* and *Optatus*; but this will scarce serve his turn. For there were four Bishops of *Rome* in the former part of that very age wherein we are now concerned, who held not the Chair ten years among them, *Marcellus*, *Eusebius*, *Melchiades* and *Marcus*. But we may allow the three Donatist Bishops at *Rome* near ten years a piece from the time of *Optatus*, 378 (as both *Blondel* and *Valesius* agree) and yet *Victor Garbiensis* may not be Bishop till *Anno* 350 and so nearer to *Optatus* his time, than *Diocletians*.

z *De Schis. Donat. cap.* 3.

2dly, It is no proof of *Dioceſan* Churches that those who belong to it, do occasionally divide themselves into distinct Meetings, A large Church, and sometimes

times a small Congregation may have occasion to divide and meet in parcels for their convenience or security. Particularly in time of Persecution, that they may assemble with more safety, and be the better concealed from those who would disturb or apprehend them. The people that belonged to *Cyprian* did meet all together on several occasions, as is apparent in his *Epistles*; yet when Persecution was hot, he thought it advisable, *caute non glomeratim nec per multitudinem simul junctam, conveniendum l*, they durst not in some parts εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐκκλησιάζειν, in the beginning of *Constantine*'s Reign *m*.

l *Ep.* 5.
m *Soz. l.* 1. *c.* 2.

Damasus, the supposed Author of the *Pope's lives*, says, *Euaristus Titulos Presbyteris divisit, divided the Titles in* Rome *to the Presbyters*, and by *Titles* some will have us to understand *Parish* Churches. But it is incredible that the Christians in *Trajan*'s time when *Euaristus* was Bishop, could erect any structures in form of Churches, or had any distinguishable from other houses, so as the Heathen might take notice of them, as used or designed for the religious exercises of Christians. Who can imagine that when it was death for any one to be known to be a Christian, they should frequent any *known* places for Christian Worship? It is far more reasonable which *Platina* says of *Calistus*'s time, more than an hundred years after, that then the *meeting of Christians were all secret, and rather in Chappels, and those hidden, and for the most part underground; than in open and publick places Cum eâ tempestate ob crebras persecutiones occulta essent omnia, & sacella potius, atque eadem abdita & plerumque subterranea; quam apertis in locis ac publicis fierent.* Dr. *St.* says, *I confess it seems not probable to me that those Tituli were so soon divided as the time of* Euaristus, *who lived in the time of* Trajan, *when the Persecution was hot against the Christians*; but *Damasus*

Iren. pag. 357.

seems

seems not to believe himself; for in the life of Dionysius *he saith, Hic Presbyteris Ecclesias divisit.* His reason concludes as much or more against the *Titles* under this notion ascribed to *Marcellus* 200 years after (which some will have to be 25, but *Onuphrius* shews they could not be more than 15 *n*) for *Marcellus* was Bishop of *Rome* for six years of the tenth Persecution begun by *Diocletian*, which was the longest and fiercest that ever befel the Church; when the Christians were so far from erecting any Churches, that all before erected were by severe Edicts to be quite demolished. But what is said of Titles divided by *Euaristus* may be true in this sense, that since they could not safely meet together in the Persecution under *Trajan*, they dispersed themselves into distinct meetings, and had Presbyters assigned to officiate in each of them. And yet the Christians at *Rome* were then no more, nor long after, than might all meet together for Worship, and did so when it could be done in safety. In the time of *Xystus* who had the Chair at *Rome* under *Adrian*, it is said *because of the frequent slaughters of the Christians, there were few found who durst profess the name of Christ, propter frequentes cædes pauci reperirentur qui nomen Christi profiteri auderent o.* And there was an order in that Church that *when the Bishop celebrated, all the Presbyters should be present.* Zepherinus *voluit Presbyteros omnes adesse celebrante Episcopo, quod etiam* Euaristo *placuit*, this is said to be made in the time of *Euaristus* to whom this division of Titles is ascribed, and it was in force an hundred years after, being renewed by *Zepherinus* who was Bishop till *Anno* 218 about 30 years before *Cornelius*, who speaks of 46. Presbyters at *Rome*. Now the Lords Supper was frequently administred in those times, at least every *Lords-day*, and when the Bishop was present, he himself did celebrate, and if all the Presbyters

n *Interpret. Voc. Eccles.*

o *Platina.*

were to *be present when he did celebrate*, then all the People likewise were to be present, or else they had no Publick Worship, for they could have none without Bishop or Presbyters.

3dly, A Church is not proved to be *Diocesan* by the numbers of *Presbyters* in it, this I have made evident before, and made it good against our *Authors* exceptions. But he brings a new instance *p*, and will have *Edessa* to have been a *Diocesan* Church because of the numerous Clergy, the *Clergy*, sayes he, *of the City of* Edessa *was above 200 persons, not reckoning that of the Countrey within his Diocese, and this was a Diocesan Bishop to purpose.*

p *Pag.* 552.

He did well not to reckon that of the Countrey in his *Diocese* : unless he had kown that something of the Countrey was within his Diocese. It was not unusual for the Bishops charge to be confined to a Town or City *Rome* it self is an instance of it *q*, *Cum omnes Ecclesiæ nostræ intra Civitatem constitutæ sunt.* But why it should be judged to be a *Diocesan* Church because 200 such Persons belonged to it, seeing the great Church at *C. P.* had above 500 Officers assigned it after *Justinian* had retrenched the numbers *r*, and yet was never counted a Diocese, I do not well understand. But he hath some other reasons for it, and because he thinks they prove the Bishop of *Edessa* to have been *a Diocesan to purpose*, let us on the by a little examine them ; these he gives in summarily, *This was a Diocesan Bishop to purpose, who besides a large Diocese, had excommunicating Archdeacons, and a great revenue.*

q *Innocent. Ep. ad Decentium.*

r *Novel. 3. c. 3.*

I find nothing alledged to shew he had a large *Diocese* or any at all, but this, *the City of* Battina was in the *Diocese of* Edessa, for *Ibas* is *accused of having endeavoured to make one* John Bishop *of it*, &c.

Battina

Battina had a Bishop of its own, how then can it be said to be in the *Diocese* of *Edessa*, unless Province and Diocese be confounded? *Edessa* was the *Metropolis* of *Mesopotamia*, the Bishop of it was the third *Metropolitan* in the *Patriarchate* of *Antioch*, as they are ordered in the antient *Notitia*. The Bishop of *Battina* was one of the many *Suffragans* belonging to that *Metropolitan*. How then comes the Diocese of *Edessa* to be any wayes large upon this account? Is the *Diocese* of *Canterbury* one foot the larger, because there is a Bishop of *Peterborough* in that *Province*? These things are not easily apprehended nor can be well digested.

2dly, The *greatness of his Revenue* is no more apparent, there is nothing to prove it but the *rickes of that Church*, and its great Revenues, and hereof our *Author* gives us no clear account, no value of the *Numismata*, nor is there any Evidence in the *Council* for the *Mannors* he speaks of but only the *felling of some wood* in a certain place there named. But where there was a *Diocesan* and *Archdeacons*, *decorum* required there should be *Mannors* and vast Revenues for the Bishop. Nor do I quarrel with it, only this breaks the squares a little, and disturbs the correspondence between those and our times; that if the Revenues of that Church had amounted to ten times more, yet the Bishop would scarce have been one jot the *richer* for it. This will not seem strange to any, who take notice of the antient Orders, concerning the revenues of an Episcopal Church. The Bishop was to have *nothing* thereof if he could maintain himself otherwise. When he was necessitous, nothing was allowed him for himself but *necessaries*, *food and raiment* [s]. He was to *purchase* nothing while he lived, nor to leave any thing got by his Bishoprick when he died, to his Relatives or others, but only to the Church that maintained him [t]. The Bishop of

[s] *Con. Antioch. c. 25.*

[t] *Code Justin. Lex 42. Sect. 2. c. de Episc. Nov. 131. c. 13. Con. Car. 3. Can. 49.*

Edeſſa, or any other in theſe Circumſtances, muſt be a poor *Dioceſan*, and one in a good *Engliſh Rectory* or *Vicaridge*, is in a fairer way to be rich, than any in the antient Biſhopricks, ſo ordered. And if Riches or Revenues be good Arguments to prove a *Dioceſan*, one of our Vicars may be a better *Dioceſan* than the Biſhop of *Edeſſa*. It is true there is ſome intimation from *Rome*, that the Biſhop ſhould have *the 4th. part* of the Churches revenues, but there's no appearance of ſuch a *diſtribution*, till after the time of the four firſt general Councils; nor in any Countrey but *Italy* till an hundred years after: Nor did it ever obtain (that I can diſcover after ſome inquiry) in the *Greek* Churches.

3. The other proof that *Ibas* was a *Dioceſan*, viz. *becauſe he had excommunicating Archdeacons*, our *Author* would make good by telling us, *that one of his Archdeacons excommunicated* Maras. Now this though it prove not what it is alledged for, may prove more than he likes. An *Archdeacon* in the antient Church (though he be another thing now) was not ſo much as a *Presbyter*, he was but in the lower Order of *Deacons*, though chief amongſt them, and choſen by them, as *Jerome* ſignifies *u*, *Diaconi eligunt de ſe quem induſtrium noverint, & Archidiaconum vocant*, the *Deacons chuſe from amongſt themſelves one whom they know to be induſtrious, and call him Archdeacon*. Now if a Deacon had the *power* to *excommunicate*, there can be no doubt but the *Presbyters* had it, being of a Superiour Order and Power. And excommunication being counted the higheſt act of Juriſdiction, it cannot be queſtioned but the other acts thereof belonged to them; and ſo the *Presbyters* having all the Juriſdiction of *Biſhops* (all the power of Government) what did they want of being Biſhops but the honour of preſiding in their Aſſemblies?

u Ep. ad Evagrium.

And if they were no farther from being Biſhops, they will go near to be as much *Dioceſan*, and ſo this *Gentleman* may chuſe, whether he will have *all* of both ſorts to be *Dioceſans*, or *none* of either.

4ly, It is no Argument to prove a Dioceſan Church to ſhew that it conſiſts of ſuch who live at a good diſtance one from another. *Dionyſius* had a great Congregation at *Cephro*, a Village in *Lybia*, but thoſe which made up this Church were of another Countrey, coming partly from *Alexandria*, partly from other parts of *Egypt*, as *Euſebius* ſhews us, yet none ever eſteemed that to be a *Dioceſan Church*. In *Juſtin Martyr's* time thoſe that were in the Countrey, and thoſe that were in the City, when thoſe were no more than made one Congregation, met together in one place, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνελεύσις, the Meeting conſiſted of ſuch as lived at a good diſtance, but none will imagine it to be a *Dioceſan* Church, but thoſe who will have a ſingle Congregation to be ſuch a Church. *All the Chriſtians in City and Countrey*, ſays Dr. *Downham*, *if they had been aſſembled together, would have made but a ſmall Congregation..w.* w *Defence l.2. c.4.p.69.*

Our *Authour* would prove the largeneſs of *Baſil's* Dioceſs by the diſtance between *Cæſarea and Saſima.* *. x *pag.546,547* He makes much of it and takes the pains to meaſure the diſtance between theſe Towns, or rather, as he ſays, to *make ſome gueſs at it out* of an *Itenerary* and *Putinger's Tables*; yet tells us the diſtance muſt be as great at leaſt as between *Hippo* and *Fuſſala*, that ſo *St. Baſil's* Dioceſs may be as great at leaſt as that of *St Auſtin's*. I think they will prove much alike, for as I have ſhew'd that *Auſtin's* Dioceſs was not one foot larger for *Fuſſala*, ſo it will appear that *St. Baſil's* had not the leaſt enlargement upon the account of *Saſima*. That he might not be out in his meaſures nor have loſt all his labour, two

things

things ſhould firſt have been cleared, neither of which is (or I think can be proved; 1ſt, That *Saſima* was in *Baſil*'s Dioceſe, for if it was but only in his *Province*, how far ſoever it was from *Cæſarea*, his Dioceſe can be nothing the larger for it, though his Province might. To prove it in his Dioceſe I find nothing but his own aſſertion, that *Saſima is ſaid expreſly to be taken out of the Dioceſe of* Baſil; but where is this ſaid expreſly, or by whom, except by himſelf? The words in the Margin ſignify no ſuch thing, but only ſome attempt to *deprive a Metropolis of* Saſima. For a Metropolis may be deprived of a Town which is in any part of the Province, when another *Metropolitan* ſeizeth on it. And I believe our *Author* is yet more *out* in taking the *Metropolis* which *Nazianzen* ſpeaks of to be *Cæſarea*, when it appears by the *Epiſtle* to be rather *Tyana*. For as the whole Epiſtle is writ to *Baſil*, ſo theſe words cited, after many others by way of ſharp expoſtulation, are directed *to him* as endeavouring to deprive a *Metropolis* of this Town, called ironically τῶν λαμπρῶν Σασίμων: Now *Cæſarea* was not the Metropolis which *Baſil* would have deprived of *Saſima*, he earneſtly endeavoured to have it annext thereto; but he would have deprived *Tyana* of it, if *Anthimus* the Metropolitan there, had not made a ſtout oppoſition. 2dly, He ſhould have proved, that after this part of *Cappadocia* was divided into *two* Provinces, *Saſima* was in that Province which fell to *Baſil*'s ſhare (for if it was not in his Province how could his Dioceſe be any larger for it?) but inſtead of this our Author offers what may ſerve to diſprove it, telling us that in the antient *Greek Notitia*, *Saſima* is ſet down in the *ſecond* Cappadocia (which belonged to *Anthimus* as the firſt did to *Baſil*) *and ſo*, ſayes he, *it is not likely to be very near* Cæſarea. No indeed, it is thereby proved to be ſo far from *Cæſarea*, that it did

not

not enlarge *Basil*'s Province, much less his Diocese. Thus it is also placed in the Διατύπωσις of *Leo Sophus* under the Metropolitan of *Tyana*, not of *Cæsarea*. It is true *Basil* laid claim to it, but after some contest he yeilded, and *Anthimus* carried it, placing *Eulalius* there as one of his Suffragans, when *Nazianzen* had quitted it.

He goes farther on to shew the largeness of Dioceses in *Basil*'s Province.

"It is plain by *Nazianzen* that *Cappadocia* had but "50 Bishops, for so many he sayes *Basil* had under him, "and considering the extent of that Countrey the Dio- "ceses must needs be large.

He does not say *Basil* had no more under him, nor that he was making no more; he knew *Basil* was constituting more Bishops in that part of *Cappadocia* which was his Province, and *Nazianzen* commends him for it as an excellent undertaking on several accounts *y*.

y *Orat. de Bas.*

"Considering the extent of that Countrey, the Dio- "ceses must needs be large, for the Countrey as *Strabo* "computes, is near 400 miles in length, and little less in "breadth.

If he means *Basil*'s own Province, where he told us there were 50 Suffragans under him besides *Sasima*, &c *z*: (as I know not what he can mean else, if his Discourse be not impertinent and inconsistent; for *Basil* as Metropolitan had no Bishops under him, but those in his proper Province) *Strabo* is strangely misrepresented to serve a turn; for it is the *whole Countrey* which passed under the name of *Cappadocia*, that the *Geographer* gives us the dimensions of in the place cited, and tell us it was divided *into ten Prefectures*, *Meletena*, *Cataonia*, *Cilica*, *Tyanitis*, *Isauritis*, &c. whereof *Basil*'s Province was but one, *viz.* that called *Cilica*, and that of *Anthimus*, *Tyanitis*, another, *&c. Mazaca*

z *Pag.* 546.

(afterwards

(afterwards called *Cæsarea*) being Metropolis of *Basil's* and *Tyana* of *Tyanitis*, &c. and after he hath given some account of these *ten Præfectures*, he adds the dimensions of the whole Countrey, in these words, *the extent of* Cappadocia *in breadth from the* Euxine *to* Taurus, *is* 1800 *Furlongs*, *in length* 3000. So that our *Author* will have the extent of *Basil's* Province to be no less than that of the *whole Countrey*, when it is but the *tenth part* thereof. And as if this were not enough, he makes the breadth of the whole Countrey, to be near twice as much as it is in *Strabo*; but he hath some salvo for this, such as it is.

"And little less in breadth, as *Causabon* restores the "reading of 1800 Furlongs in the 12th. *Book*, by "a passage in the *second* where the breadth is made "2800.

It is true *Causabon* observes some difference in the places cited, but he shews how they may be easily reconciled, without changing the Text here, or making the Countrey broader than it is here described, *viz.* by taking *Pontus* in one place for the *Sea*, in the other for the *Region* so called, separated from *Cappadocia by mountains parallel to* Taurus; and then concludes, *Sic non erit discedendum à vulgatâ lectione.* So that he hath no relief by *Causabon* without curtailing the Passage.

"And in this compass Bishops may contrive 50 Dio- "ceses of very competent extent, and not inferiour to "many of ours.

Let him try how in *Basil's* Province of about 40 miles in length, he can *contrive* room for above 50 Bishops, with as large Dioceses as those he pleads for. That which is now thought little enough for *one* Bishop *Basil* conceived too big for *Fifty*.

What

What Dioceſes *Baſil* (and others before him) thought ſufficient for Biſhops both then, and in former times, appears by a paſſage which our *Author* next cites, where *Amphilochius Biſhop of Iconium, is directed to conſtitute Biſhops for the Province of Iconium, in little Corporations and Villages.* *a* Hundreds of inſtances might be brought of Biſhops elſewhere, in *ſuch little places and Villages*, but I will go no further now, than the inſtance himſelf offers us, whereby it is manifeſt that a *little Corporation, or a Village* might furniſh a Biſhop with ſuch a Dioceſe, as was then thought competent, both by *Baſil*, and the Church *before him.* For in ſuch *little places* there was Biſhops before, as *Baſil* there ſignifies, and he gives direction that it ſhould be ſo ſtill. Yet he, that would adviſe the reducing of Biſhops to ſuch *Sees* now, would be counted an enemy to Epiſcopacy; and his advice deſtructive to Biſhops. So much do we now differ, both from the judgment and practice of the antient Church, and the moſt eminent Biſhops in it.

a *Ep.* 406.

Hereby alſo it appears that the *multiplying of Metropolitans* was no ſuch occaſion of *multiplying Biſhops*, but that their numbers *increaſed*, when there was not that occaſion; And this in *Cappadocia*, which is our *Author's* eminent inſtance. *b* For Biſhops were multiplyed by erecting Epiſcopal Sees in *Villages*, *and little places*, this was done in *Iſauria*, a Province in *Cappadocia*, as appears by theſe paſſages in *Baſil*, before the conteſt between him and *Anthimus*, upon the conſtituting of a new Metropolitan: and after that difference was Compoſed, *Baſil* thought it adviſeable that it ſhould be done ſtill. And the like may be ſaid of *Africa*, the inſtance he moſt inſiſts on, and ſpends many Pages upon it, pretending the occaſion why Biſhops were ſo numerous there, was the *Schiſm* of the *Donatiſts*,

b *Pag.* 545.

Whereas the rule by which the *African Fathers* proceeded in erecting Bishopricks in *little places*, and so increasing the number of Bishops, was as themselves declare, who best knew it, *the increase of the number of Christians*: c Where these were multiplyed, and desired a Bishop, they thought themselves obliged to let them have one; not excepting the meanness or smalness of the places, where he was to be constituted. And we must believe (if we have any reverence for those Fathers) that they would have done, what they judged themselves obliged to, though there had been no *Donatists* amongst them. And when there can be no such pretence of occasion from the *Donatists*, the practice was continued, as appears by *St. Austin's* procuring a Bishop for *Fussala*, which he calls a *Castle*, upon some increase of the *Catholicks* there, diverse years after the noted *conference* at *Carthage*, where the heart of the *Donatists* was broken; Nay, many years after the invasion of the *Vandals*, and the death of *St. Austin* they proceeded in the same methods, or rather exceeded their Predecessors in multiplying Bishops, by erecting Episcopal seats in smaller, and more inconsiderable places, if *Leo* his Epistle may be credited. d

c Concil. Carth. 2 Can. 5.

d Ep. 85.

But to return to our *Author*, and the passage of *Basil*, insisted on, by which sayes he, 'it appears that 'Isauria was part of *Basil's* Province; How this appears by any thing therein, I cannot imagine, our *Author* signifies before that *Isauria* was a distinct *Province*, the Metropolis of it (as he supposes) *Seleucia*, which had a metropolitan and suffragans before, and being now destitute, the Bishops in the Vicinity were careful to provide others. Which being so, that it should be part of *Basil's* Province seems as incongruous, as if it were said, that the Province of *York*, is part of the Province of *Canterbury*: but if this could be digested,

that

that one Province is part of another, yet *Isauria* would rather be part of *Amphilochius* his province, who (as he tells us) was to *constitute* a Metropolitan and other Bishops therein, than of *Basil's*, who is only represented as giving *advice* about it. Or if giving *advice* and direction, would prove any thing of this nature, the *Papists* might think it a good argument, that *Africa* was part of the *Roman Province*, because *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* gives advise, how Bishops should be there constituted. *e*

e *Ibid.*

Next he brings in the *Chore-piscopi* in order to his design, and tells us *f* they were 'Countrey *Bishops*, and 'their Church consisted of *many* Congregations, and 'those at a good distance one from another, and also 'that some of them had the inspection of a large Ter-'ritory, no less it is like than the County of *Fussala*.

f *Pag.* 550.

But not a word for proof of this, save *Basil's* mentioning a Chor-episcopus τῶν τόπων *of some places*; Whereas if he had been the Bishop of two or three Villages, this might be enough to satisfie the import of that expression. Yet he knows there is some one Countrey Parish, that hath ten times as many, or more Villages in it, but never pretended to be a *Diocesan Church*, and that such a pretence would be now counted ridiculous.

He adds, that which, if it were true, wouldgo near to *dethrone* these *Countrey Bishops*; (for *Basil* speaks of them, as having their *Thrones* in Villages) and render them less than antient Presbyters, for all their *large Territory*, and there being *Dioceſans*.

'But yet these were but the *Deputies* or *Surrogates* of 'the City Bishops in point of jurisdiction, for they 'were to do nothing of moment without their Bishop.

If this be so, it would be less wonder that the *Pope* will have Bishops to be but his substitutes; and that some Bishops will have the Pastors of Parochial Churches to be but their *Vicars* or *Curates*. I hope our *Author* intends better, however it is well that such odd *Hypotheses* have no better support than that which is added, for sayes he, *they were to do nothing of moment without their Bishop*; this is his argument, and he is not alone in urging it. Let us see whether it will not do the Bishops (for whose advancement it is designed) as much disservice, as it can do the Chorepiscopi, or Presbyters; divesting them of that which is counted more necessary and advantagious to them, than a large Diocese. The Provincial Bishops were obliged to do nothing, μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν δίχα τῦ μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, *without the Bishop of the Metropolis*, this the synod at *Antioch* decrees, *according to an antient Canon of the Fathers*. g By this argument we must conclude, that the Bishops in a Province were but the *Deputies* and *Surrogates* of the Metropolitan. And it may proceed proportionably against the *Metropolitans* with respect to the Ἐξάρχοις or *Primates*; and also to *their* prejudice in reference to the *Patriarchs*. It will go near to destroy the *Bishops* likewise, if we follow it downwards. In the antient Church *the Bishops were to do nothing of moment, without the Presbyters*, this the most judicious and Learned *Asserters* of Episcopacy acknowledge; h Nay further, in the best Ages of the Church, the *Bishops were to do nothing without the people*, that is, without their *presence and consent*. This is most evident in *Cyprian's Epistles*, and is acknowledged by such *Prelatists* as are otherwise reserved enough. i Now by this Argument we may conclude that Bishops were but the *Deputies* or *Surrogates* of the Presbyters; or which will be counted more intolerable, that Bishops had

g *Can.* 9. *Can. Apost.* 35. *Concil. Milev. Can.* 13.

h *B. Bilson, Dr. Field, Dr. Downham, B. Hall, M. Thorndike, B. Usher.*

i *Vide defence of Dr. St. Pag.* 407.

had their jurisdiction from the people by *Deputation and Vicarage.* It may be this *Gentleman* will not like his argument so well, when he sees what improvement it is capable of, yet in pursuance of it he adds, 'Basil 'is so resolute upon his prerogative, that he will not en- 'dure they should ordain, as much as the inferiour 'Clergy, without his consent; and if they do, let 'them know, (sayes he) that whosoever is admitted 'without our consent shall be reputed but a Layman.

I suppose the *Prerogative* for which he will have *Basil* so *resolute*, is a *Negative* in ordinations upon the Countrey Bishops; but this cannot be concluded from the words cited. For the Council of *Nice* gives the Metropolitan a power, as to ordinations in the same words, [k] declaring that if a Bishop be ordained by the Provincials, χωρὶς γνώμης, *without the judgment of the Metropolitan*, the great Council will have *him accounted no Bishop*; and yet the Metropolitan had no *Negative* upon the Provincials in Ordinations, for the same *Council* determines, that in ordinations *plurality of Votes shall prevail*, which is utterly inconsistent with any ones *Negative voice.* What then is the import of *Basil's* ἄνευ γνώμης? take it in the words of a very Learned and Judicious *Dr.* of this Church, *it is indeed there said, that none should be ordained* χωρὶς γνώμης *without the opinion of the Metropolitan, but that doth not import a Negative voice in him, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without this knowledge, advice and suffrage,* &c. [l]

[k] *Can.* 6.

[l] *Barrow of the Popes Supremacy, Pag.* 314.

5. It is no proof of a *Diocesan Church*, to shew that a Town, besides the Clergy or Officers in it, had some Presbyters or Congregations in the Countrey belonging to it. The instances which signifie no more, or not so much, are produced as sufficient arguments to prove

prove there were ſuch Churches. As that of *Gaius Diddenſis Presbyter*, ſuppoſed (with what ground I examine not) to have been a Countrey Presbyter belonging to *Carthage*, and under *Cyprian*. *m* And that of *Felix* ſaid to do the Office of a Presbyter, under *Decimus* another Presbyter; a thing unheard of in thoſe times, but let us take it as we find it, and upon the very ſlender reaſon alledged againſt *Goulartius* (who is of another Judgment) believe, that he was a Prieſt in ſome Village belonging to *Caldonius* his Dioceſe. *n* And that order for the Presbyters from their Churches, *to repair* to *their proper Biſhop for Chriſm* in *Africa*, *o* in *Spain*, *p* and in *France*. *q* To theſe are added, for further evidences, the Churches (ſaid without ground to be *many*,) belonging to *Hippo Diæritorum*; Alſo the Church of *Thyana*, belonging to *Alypius* Biſhop of *Tageſta*, which without reaſon, we muſt take to be a conſiderable City, *r* and the City *Milevis*, becauſe *Petilian* ſayes *Tunca* belonged to it once, though now it had a Biſhop of its own; and by our Authors Art of computation, *Towns*, *Villages* and *Cities* muſt belong to *Milevis*, upon the ſole account of *Tunca*, ſometime appertaining to it, *ſ* and theſe with *Fuſſala*, (of which before) are the chief inſtances to prove that *Africa* had very large *Dioceſes not inferiour to thoſe of ours*, *in extent of Territory*. *t* Beſides in the Council of *Neocæſarea* *Countrey Presbyters* are diſtinguiſhed from others; *u* and that of *Antioch* provides that *Countrey Presbyters ſhall not give Canonical Epiſtles*, *w* and allows the Biſhop to *order his own Church*, and the *Countrey places depending on it*. *x* And *Epiphanius* ſpeaks of a Church belonging to his charge, which we muſt underſtand to be his *Dioceſe*, though in the paſſage cited, it is twice called his *Province*, *y* in fine, *Jerome* ſpeakes of ſome baptized by Presbyters or Deacons

n *Vindication.* p. 504.

i *Pag.* 506. 507.

o *Con.* 4. *Can.* 36.

p *Tol.* 1. *Cap.* 20.

q *Vaſcon.Can.*3.

r *Pag.* 527.

ſ *Pag.* 528.

t *Pag.* 516.

u *Can.* 13.

w *Can.* 8.

x *Can.* 9. *Pag.* 536.

y *Pag.* 555.

cons in *Hamlets*, *Caſtles*, and *Places remote from the Biſhop*.

Theſe and ſuch like are uſed as good arguments for *Dioceſan Churches*, whereas there are diverſe Towns in *England*, which beſides the Officers in them, have *many* Congregations and Presbyters in Villages belonging to them, and contained within the Pariſh; and yet our Author and thoſe of his perſwaſion would think *Dioceſans* quite ruined, if they were reduced, and confined to the meaſures of thoſe Pariſh Churches, and left no bigger than ſome of our Vicarages and Parſonages, though ſuch as Mr. *Hooker* affirms to *be as large as ſome antient Biſhopricks*; he might have ſaid *moſt*, there being not one in many greater or ſo large. I yet ſee no ground in antiquity, nor can expect to have it proved, that the larger ſort of ordinary Biſhopricks in the *fourth age*, and ſometime after, were of more extent than two ſuch Vicarages would be, if united. Yet a Biſhop of ſuch a Diſtrict in our times would be counted ſo far from having a *competent Dioceſe*, that he would ſcarce eſcape from being ſcorned as an *Italian Epiſcopellus*.

But his greateſt argument, (in compariſon of which his other Allegations, he tells us, are but *accidental hints*, z.) which he moſt inſiſts on, and offers many times over; ſo that it makes a great part of his diſcourſe on this ſubject. *a* It is drawn from the *number of Biſhops in Councils*, by which he would evince the *largeneſs* of antient *Dioceſes*, when it no way proves *Dioceſan* Churches of any ſize. He proceeds upon this ſuppoſition that *there were great numbers of Chriſtians in all parts and Cities*, b *in the firſt age: And that the Biſhops were fewer in former times than afterwards.* The former part of his *Hypotheſis*, if he underſtands the numbers of Chriſtians to be any thing comparable to what they

z *Pag.* 508.

a *Pag.* 508. *to Pag.* 555. *to* 539. *Pag.* 556. *to* 562.

b *Pag.* 530.

they were after *Constantine*, when Bishops were much multiplied; (as he must understand it, if he expect any service from it) wants proof, and he offers none but some passages in *Tertullian*, strained far beyond what is agreeable to other *antient Authors*, of which before. Let me add that *Nazianzen* comparing the numbers of Christians in former times, with those in *Julian's* Reign, says, they were *not many* in former Persecutions, (Christianity had not reached many, οὔπω ὀπὶ πόλλους,) no, not in that of *Dioclesian*, &c. (though they were at that time, farr more numerous, than in *Tertullian's* age) but
c Orat. 3. that Christianity was found only in a few ἐν ὀλίγοις c. The *other part* which needs no proof, since it is granted, (and may be without any advantage to him) he attempts to prove largely and industriously; but by such a *medium* as makes that which is granted to be questionable, such a one which as it is ordered may conclude backward, and prove the contrary to what he designs. That this may be manifest, let it be observed, that he will have us take an account of the number of Bishops in the Church by their appearing in *Councils*, more or fewer; and accordingly judge in several periods, whether they were less numerous, and consequently their Dioceses larger in former times than afterwards. And to this purpose we need view no other instances than himself produces. At *Lambese* in *Africa* there were 90 Bishops against *Privatus*; but not so many in any Council after (though not a few are mentioned in that
d pag. 509. Countrey) till the *Donatists* grew numerous *d*. In *Spain* the Council of *Eliberis* had 19 Bishops in the beginning of the 4th. Age, and the first Council of *Toledo* had no more in the beginning of the age after. But the following Synods, at *Saragossa*, *Gerunda*, *Ilerda*,
e pag. 557. 558 *Valentia*, *Arragon*, had not so many *e*. In *France* the Council at *Valence* had 21 Bishops in the fourth Age, but

but those following them, in that and the after ages had still fewer, *viz.* That of *Riez*, *Orange*, the third of *Arles*, that at *Angers*, that at *Tours*, and *Vennes* and another at *Arles*. For *General* Councils, the first at *Nice* had 318 Bishops in the beginning of the fourth Age, that at *Ephesus* above an hundred years after, had but two hundred, that at *C. P.* in the latter end of the fourth Age had but one hundred and fifty Bishops.

So that if we take account how many Bishops there were of old, as he would have us, by *their numbers in Councils*, there will be more before the middle of the third Age, than in the beginning of the fourth; more in the beginning of the fourth than in some part of the fifth; and more in the beginning of the fifth, than in some part of the sixth; quite contrary to the *Hypothesis* on which he proceeds. Whether by his argument he would lead us to think *Dioceses* did wax and wane so odly, as it makes Bishops to be more or fewer, I cannot tell. However since he grants that in the fourth and fifth Ages *Dioceses* were *very small* f, and *crumbled into small pieces* g, (and so nothing like ours): there's no expectation he can find any larger, if any thing near so great, in any former age: unless they can be larger when incomparably fewer Christians belonged to these Bishops; which will be no less a paradox than the former. For it cannot but be thought strange, that the Bishops Diocese should be *greater* when his flock was undeniably far *less*. And they seem not to be *Christian Bishopricks*, whose measures must be taken by numbers of *Acres* rather than of *Souls*; or by multitudes of Heathens rather than Christians.

f pag. 552.
g pag. 516.

He denies not, that *the generality of Bishops, for a long while after the Apostles*, had *but one Congregation to Govern*. What then? says he, *If all the Beleivers in and* Pag. 71.

about a City would hardly make a Congregation, that is to be ascribed to the condition of those times. Dioceses with him, were largest in the first times; but Bishops being still multiplyed, they became less and less, and so were very small and crumbled into very little pieces in the fourth and fifth Ages. This is the tendency of his discourse all along. Thus Dioceses must be largest, when a Bishop had but one Congregation; but in after ages when he had more Congregations under his inspection Dioceses were very small. If he will stand to this, our differences may be easily compromized. Let him and those of his perswasion, be content with the Dioceses in the first ages, when he counts them largest; and we shall never trouble any to reduce them to the measures of the fourth and fifth ages, when in his account they were so lamentably *little*, and *crumbled so very small.*

The particulars premised contain enough to satisfie *all*, that I have yet seen alledged out of Antiquity for *Diocesan Churches*, so that no more is needful, yet let me add another, which will shew there is a *medium* between *Congregational* and *Diocesan* Churches. So that if some Churches should be shewed out of the *Antients* exceeding the *Congregational measures* (as some there were in the times of the four first General Councils) yet it cannot thence be immediately inferred that they were *Diocesan*, since they may prove a *third* sort of Churches, and such as will as little please those of this Gentleman's perswasion as *Congregational.*

6. It's no argument for a *Diocesan* Church, that there were several fixed Churches, with their proper Presbyters in a City or its Territory; so long as these Churches, how many soever were *governed in common* by the Bishop and Presbyters in such a Precinct. For though few instances can be given of such Churches, in or be-

belonging to a City in the 4th. Age; yet wherever they were extant in that, or the following Age, in things of *common concern* to those Churches, they were ordered in common by a Presbytery, that is, the Bishop with the Presbyters of that Precinct. *Jerome* declares it *de jure, they ought to be governed in common, in communi debere Ecclesiam regere.* h

h *In Titus* 1.

And *Felix* 3 Bishop of *Rome*, (than whom no Bishop was higher, or more absolute in those times,) declares it *de facto*, when he speaks of the Presbyters of that Church, as συνόντων μετ' ἐμὲ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον, *ruling that Church with him.* It is the same word that the governing of Churches by other Bishops, is expressed by μὴ πάσης τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἡ τὰς πέριξ διέπων ἐκκλησίας γνώμης, as *Alexander* saith of *Narcissus*, ὁ περὶ ἐμὲ διέπων τὸν τόπον ἐπισκοπῆς. i It imports no less than *præsidere*, and is ascribed to Bishops and Presbyters, jointly by *Tertullian*, k *Cyprian* l and *Firmilian*. m Hence the Presbyters are frequently said to be συλλειτουργοὶ with the Bishop, n for then the Governing power of Bishops was but counted a *Ministry*, λειτουργίας γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὄνομα δηλωτικὸν, o and the Presbyters *fellow Ministers* with him, and joint Administrators in the Government. They are styled συμποιμένες, p *fellow Pastors*, they did not then dream that a Bishop was *sole Pastor* of many Churches. They are also called συνέδρεται, which is no less than συνθρονοι, q for the Presbyters had their *Thrones* with the Bishop. So *Nazianzen* speaks of *Basil* when ordained Presbyter, as promoted ἱερεῖς θρόνους *to the Sacred Thrones of the Presbyters.* r They are also called συνδεχόντες or κοινωνοὶ τῆς δεχῆς. s

i *Euseb. l.* 6. c. 11.
k *Apol. c.* 39.
l *Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 3.
m *Ep.* 75.
n *Theod. Hist. l.* 4. *c.* 8. *Epiphan. Her.* 42.
o *Isidore Lib.* 4. *Ep.* 260.
p *Naz. Orat.* 1. *Orat.* 7.
q *Ignat. ad Tral in Chrysost. Tom* 7. *Hom.* 2. *a.*
r *Orat.* 20.
s *Chrys. in Tim. Hom.* 1.

But further evidence is needless, though abundance may be produced, since the great *Patrons* of Episco-

pacy seems not to question it, that the *Church was governed in common*, and the Bishop was to do nothing of importance without the Presbyters, it is acknowledged by Bishop *Bilson*, *t* Bishop *Downham*, *u* Bishop *Hall* asserts it, as *that which is Universally accorded by all antiquity, that all things in the antient Church were ordered and transacted by the general consent of Presbyters.* *w* Mr. *Thorndike* proves at large, *that the Government of Churches passed in common*; *x* Primate *Usher* more succinctly but effectually. *y* Add but Dr. *St.* who both asserts and proves it, *z there was still one Ecclesiastical Senate, which ruled all the several Congregations of those Cities in common, of which the several Presbyters of the Congregations were Members, and in which the Bishop acted as the President of the Senate, for the better Governing the affairs of the Church*, &c.

t *Perpet Govern. Cap.* 11.
u *Defence. lib.* 3. *L.* 1. *c.* 8.
w *Iren. P.* 47.
x *Prim. Govern.*
y *Reduct. of Episcopacy.*
z *Iren. Pag.* 354. 355. 356.

Let me add, when the Churches were so multiplyed in City and Territory, as that it was requisite to divide them into Parishes, and constitute several Churches; the Bishop was not the *proper Ruler* or *Pastor* of the whole Precinct, and the Churches in it, or of any Church, but *one*. The Parishes or Churches were divided among Presbyters and Bishop, they had their several distinct cures and charges; the Bishops peculiar charge was the *Ecclesia principalis*, the chief Parish or Church so called, or ἀυθεντικὴ καθέδρα. The Presbyters performed all Offices in their several *Cures*, and ordered all affairs which did particularly concern the Churches where they were incumbents; those that were of more common concern were ordered by Bishop and Presbyters together, and thus it was in the Bishops Church or Parish, he performed all Offices, administred all Ordinances of Worship himself, or by Presbyters joyned with him, as Assistants. He was to attend this *particular cure* constantly, he was not allowed to be absent

sent, no, not under pretence of taking care for some other Church; if he had any business there which particularly concerned him, he was to make quick dispatch, and not (χρονίζειν ἢ ἀμελεῖν τῶν οἰκείων λαῶν, as *Zonaras*) *stay there with the neglect of his proper flock*; this is all evident by a Canon of the Council of *Carthage a*, *Rursum placuit ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali Cathedra, ad aliquam Ecclesiam in Dioceſi constitutam se conferre, vel in re propria, diutius quam oportet constitutum, curam vel frequentationem propriæ Cathedræ negligere.* Of this Church or Parish he was the proper Pastor or Ruler, called there ἰδίου ὄρου, and elsewhere *b* οἰκεῖα καθέδρα, in contradistinction to other parts of the Precinct, called here Dioceses; and the people of it are called οἰκεῖος λαὸς by the ancient *Canonist c*, his *proper flock or people*, his own special charge. This was the particular Church under his personal Government, but he was not Ruler of the Precinct, or any other Churches in it, save only in *common*, and in conjunction with the other Presbyters; who jointly took cognizance of what in his Church or theirs, was of greater or more general consequence, and concerned the whole, and gave order in it by *common consent*.

a In Zona. N. 77 in Code 71.

b Can. 53.

c Zona. in loc.

And while this was the *form of Government*, if there had been as many Churches there, thus associated, as *Optatus* in the fourth age says there was at *Rome*, or far more, they could not make a *Dioceſan* Church, unless a *Dioceſan* and a *Presbyterian* Church be all one. For this is plainly a *Presbyterian* Church, the *antient Presbyteries* differing from the *modern* but in a matter of smaller moment. In those their *President* being *fixed* and constant, in these commonly though not always *circular*. The Presbyteries in *Scotland* comprized some twelve, some twenty, some more Churches, their

their *Moderators* were at first, and for some years, *circular*, King *James* afterwards, *Anno* 1606 *d*, would have them to be *constant*, and so it was ordered; yet when they were *fixed*, no man ever counted these *Presbyteries* to be *Diocesan* Churches. The Church of *Geneva* consists of twenty four Parishes, governed in common by a Presbytery with a Moderator, who is sometimes changed, sometimes continued for Life. *Calvin* was *President* while he lived, yet that of *Geneva* is not wont to be taken for a *Diocesan* Church. Nor were those antient Churches such, while they were *governed*, not by *one* Bishop, but by a *Senate* of Presbyters where he *presided*; as in the Council of *Constantinople* all things *in the Province* are said, *to be governed*, not by the *Metropolitan*, but *by the Provincial Synod e*.

d Hist. p. 559.

e Can. 2. Socr. l. 5. cap. 8.

Finally, the Presbyters are in the antient Church acknowledged to have had the *power of the keys*, both as to the ministration of the Word and Sacraments, and *the exercise of Government and censures*. This power they exercised either jointly in conjunction with the Bishop and Senate of Presbyters; or *distinctly* in the particular Churches whereof they had the charge. The *former* power concerning the Word and Sacraments is not questioned, nor is there any ground to question, the *latter*, if some were not swayed more by the practice of their own times, than the principles and declarations of the antients. *Chrysostom* ascribes to Presbyters, not only διδασκαλίαν, the power of order, but φροστασίαν the power of Government *f*, giving this as the reason why the Apostle gives the same rules for the ordering both of Bishops and Presbyters, *there is but little difference betwixt them*, says he, *for they are ordained both to the teach-*

f In 1 Tim. Hom. 11.

teaching (πρεσβείαν,) *and ruling of the Church* Now that πρεσβεία, denotes jurisdiction or *presidentiam cum potestate*, and is as *Hesychius* renders it, κυβέρνησις, is plain in *Chrysostome* himself; he tells us the Apostle *Paul* had τὴν οἰκουμένην πρεσβείαν, *g* which he elsewhere expresses by τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν κυβέρνησιν *h*: and speaking of *Moses*, he says, *it was wonderful, that he who was to be a Ruler*, ὁ πρεσβεύσων μέλλων ἔσεσθαι, *should be born at such a time* i. *Theophilact* makes the difference as little between Bishop and Presbyters, and ascribes as much power to the later, almost in the same words *k*. So *Theodoret* declares πρεσβείαν, jurisdiction to belong to every Presbyter *l*, *against an Elder especially, no less than two Witnesses must be admitted, because he having* ἐκκλησίας πρεσβείαν, *the Government of the Church, and in the exercise of it often grieving Delinquents, they being ill affected to him, will be apt to bring false accusations.* And this is the ἡγεμονία included in the Presbyters Office, εἴτε λειτουργίαν χρὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ἡγεμονίαν, as *Nazianzen* speaks and much more to that purpose *m*. And besides many other passages of like import, the Title of Governours is all a long in antient Writers given to Presbyters; and all the expressions which signifie Authority and Government, are ascribed to them. Thereby those that would curtail their power, and make it no more of old than it is now, are not a little encumbred; to extricate themselves a distinction is devised of a power *internal* and *external*, the former they will allow to Presbyters in their respective Churches, not the later.

g *In* 1 *Cor. Hom.* 23. & *Hom*, 25.
h *In* 2 *Cor. Hom.* 25.
i *In Act. Hom.* 16.
k *In* 1 *Tim.*
l *In* 1 *Tim.* 5, 19.
m *Orat.* 1.

But this is devised to disentangle themselves, and salve the deviations and irregularities of later times, not that there is any ground for it in Antiquity. For the highest act of that *external* power of jurisdiction, is *Excommunication*; and if this was in the Presbyters power of old, no other act of that power will, or can

in

in reaſon be denied them; but this the antients aſcribe to them; So *Jerome*, *n* *Mihi ante Presbyterum ſedere non licet, illi ſi peccavero licet me tradere ſatanæ ad interritum carnis, ut ſpiritus ſalvus ſit.* *Chryſoſtome* threatned ſome of his Auditory, while he was a Presbyter, to Excommunicate them, ἐπαγορεύσω λοίπον ὑμῖν τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων ἐπίσκοπον προθύρων, *o* to wave all of like nature inſiſted on by others; *Juſtinian* in the 6th. Age ſignifies plainly, that not only *Biſhops*, but *Presbyters* might Excommunicate Offenders, in his *Conſtitutions* he forbids Biſhops and *Presbyters to exclude any from Communion, till ſuch cauſe was declared, for which the Canons appointed it to be done*, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπαγορεύομεν, ἀφορίζειν τινα τῆς ἁγίας κοινονίας, &c. and will have the ſentence of *Excommunication reſcinded, which was paſſed by Biſhops or Presbyters without cauſe.* *p* In the *Code* both Biſhops and Clergy are forbid to Excommunicate in certain caſes, and then mentions the caſes for which they muſt not, ἢ ἀφορίζειν ἢ ἀναθεματίζειν —— κἂν ἔθος τοιοῦτον ἐκράτησεν, *although they had been accuſtomed to it.* *q*

n *Ad Heliodorum.*

o *Hom.* 17. *in Matth.*

p *Novel.* 123. *c.* 11.

q *Lex* 39, *Sec.* 2. *Tit. de Epiſc: & Clericis.*

Now while Presbyters had *this power* there could be no *Dioceſan Churches*, whether they exerciſed it in *common*, as was ſhewed before, or *particularly* in their ſeveral Churches, as will now be made apparent; For by virtue of theſe powers the Presbyters were really Biſhops, though they had not alwayes the Title, yea, they are called Biſhops, as a *Learned Prelatiſt* obſerves, by the antienteſt Authors, *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, *Tertullian*, *r* and have frequently the *Names* and *Titles* which ſome would appropriate to Biſhops, and which the Fathers uſe to expreſs the Office of Biſhops by, προεστώτες *Præpoſiti*, *Antiſtites*, *Præſidentes*, *ſ* &c. And ſo there was as many *Biſhops* really in every Dioceſe, as there were particular Churches and Presbyters there; And well may

r *Thornd. Prim. Govern. Pag.* 73. 74.

ſ *Idem. ſervice. Pag.* 68.

may they be said to be really the same, since they were of the very *same Office*; for Bishops in the antient Church, were not a *superiour Order* to Presbyters, but had only a Precedency in the same *Order*. This some of the most judicious and learned *Defenders* of Episcopacy assert. And those who hold that *Patriarchs*, *Metropolitans* and *Bishops* differed not in *Order*, but in *degree* only, which is the common opinion of *Episcopal Divines*, and yet contend that Bishops and Presbyters were of a *different order*, will never be able to prove it. The difference they assign between *Bishops* and *Metropolitans* is, that these *presided in Synods, and had a principal interest in Ordinations*, and what more did the preeminence of antient Bishops, distinguishing them from Presbyters amount to? It consisted in nothing material but their *presidency* in Presbyteries, and their power in Ordinations. This last is most insisted on, as making the difference wider, between these than the other. But with little reason all things considered. For those to be ordained, were first to be examined and approved by the Presbyters, μὴ ἄλλως χειροτονεῖσθαι αλλὰ τῆ ὀρθοδόξων κλειικῶν δοκιμαζόντων *t*, the ordaining of one to the Presbytery was to be ψηφῶ καὶ κρίσει τῦ κλήρυ παντὸ *u*. It was a crime for which the greatest Bishop in the World was censurable, to preferr any, or make Ordinations ἄνευ γνώμης τῦ κλήρυ, as appears by what *Chrysostome* was accused of, though it is like falsly *w*, and this is counted by some the *substance* of Ordination, wherein the Presbyters had no less share (to say no more) than the Bishop. And in *imposing hands*, which was the *Rite of Ordaining*, the Presbyters were to concurr with the Bishop, for which there is better Authority than the Canon of an *African* Council, for saith a very learned *Doctor x, to this purpose, the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery* y, *is no ways impertinently alledged, although*

t *Theophilus Commonitor. cap. 6.*
u *Clem. Constit. lib. 8. cap. 18.*
w *Phot. in Chrys. Tom. 8. pag. 155. Concil. Carth. 4. cap. 22. Turon. 2.*
x *Iren. p. 275.*
y *1 Tim. 1. 1.*

we ſuppoſe St. Paul *to concurr in the action; becauſe if the Presbytery had nothing to do in the Ordination, to what purpoſe were their hands laid upon him? Was it only to be Witneſſes of the fact, or to ſignifie their conſent? Both theſe might have been, done without their uſe of that Ceremony, which will ſcarce be inſtanced in, to be done by any but ſuch, as had power to conferr what was ſignifyed by that Ceremony.* And diverſe inſtances are brought by the *ſame hand* to ſhew that Ordinations by Presbyters was *valid* in the antient Church z.

z *pag.* 379.

But if the Presbyters had been quite excluded from *Ordination*, and this power had been intirely reſerved to the Biſhops, yet this would not be ſufficient to conſtitute them a *ſuperiour Order*. For the Rite of Ordaining was ſo farr from being an act of *Government* or juriſdiction, that it did not inferre any *ſuperiority* in the Ordainer; nothing being more ordinary in the practice of the Antient Church, than for thoſe, who were of a *lower Degree* and Station, to Ordain their Superiours.

While there was no more diſtance betwixt Biſhop and Presbyters but only in *Degree*, ſo that as the Biſhop was but *primus* Presbyter, (as *Hilary* under the name of *Ambroſe*, and others *a*; or *Primicerius* as *Optatus*, defined by a Learned Civilian to be πρῶτον ἐκ τάξεως) *b the firſt Presbyter*, ſo the Presbyter was a ſecond Biſhop ἐν δευτέροις ἥρωσι, as *Nazianzen*. As the *Biſhop* was *ſummus ſacerdos*, in the ſtyle of *Tertullian* and others, that is, *cheif Presbyter*, ſo the Presbyter was *Biſhop* a *degree* lower; not that he had leſs *paſtoral power*, but becauſe he wanted that *degree* of dignity or preeminence, for which the other was ſtyled *chief*. As the *Prætor Urbanus* was called *Maximus*, yet he had

a *In* 1 *Tim. Autor. Queſt. in* V. *et* N. T.

b *Gothofrid. in Code.*

had no more *Power* than the other, *Prætorum idem erat collegium, eadem poteſtas* c, but only ſome more privi- ledge and dignity, *dignitate cæteros anteibat propterea maximus dicebatur* d, and the ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος, at *Athens* was *Prætor maximus*, yet all the reſt were *pares poteſtatis* e; *Biſhops* and Presbyters had *idem miniſterium* as *Jerome*, *eadem Ordinatio*, as *Hilary* f, they were of the ſame *Order* and Office, had the ſame power, *the power of the Keys*, all that which the *Scripture* makes eſſential to a *Biſhop*. While it was thus, there could be no *Dioceſan Churches*, that is, no Churches conſiſting of many Congregations which had but *one Biſhop* only.

c *Bodin. lib. 3. c. 6.*

d *Feſt. in verb. major.*

e *Ibid.*

f *In 1 Tim. 3.*

POST-SCRIPT.

A Late Writer presumes he has detected a notable mistake in the *Author*, of *No Evidence for Dioceſan Churches* (ascribed to one who owns it not) about μύριοι, which I suppose he would have Translated *Ten Thousands definitely*; but there it is rendred *indefinitely thousands*, as we are wont to expres a great many, when the precise number is not known. Those who understand the Language, and have observed the *use* of the Word, will be farr from counting this a fault: and those who view the passage will count it intolerable, to render it as that Gentleman would have it. That of *Atticus* Bishop of *C. P.* may satisfie any concerning the import and use of the word, who sending mony for the releif of the poor at *Nice* to *Calliopius*, he thus writes,

writes, ἔμαθον μυρίους ἐν τῇ πόλει πεινῶντας δεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἐλέου. Μυρίους δὲ λέγω τὸ πλῆθος, οὐ τὸν ἀκριβῆ δηλῶν ἀριθμόν. where he tells him that by μυρίους he underſtands a multitude whoſe number he did not exactly know, thus (i. e. indefinitely) is the word moſt frequently uſed by Greek Writers, and particularly by *Euſebius* the Author of the
ist. l. 2. c. paſſage cited. So he tells us, *Nero* killed his *Mother*, his *Brothers*, his *Wife*, σὺν ἄλλοις μυρίοις,
8. C. 13. of her Kindred: And *Timotheus* of *Gaza*, he ſays, indured μυρίας βασάνους. Many more might be added, where the word is not rendred by the beſt Tranſlators (*Valeſius* particularly) ten thouſand; but ſtill indefinitly *innumerabiles* or *infiniti*, or *ſexcenti*, &c. Nor have I met with one inſtance (though poſſibly there may be ſome) in him where it is uſed to expreſs ten thouſand preciſely.

However it had been an unpardonable injury to *Euſebius*, to have rendred it ſo in this place; as if he would have deluded the World with a moſt palpable untruth, which both he, and all men acquainted with the ſtate of the Church in thoſe times, know to be ſo. For this make him ſay that ten thouſand Biſhops

ſhops met in Councel at *Antioch* in the third Age; when as he never knew a Synod of ſix hundred Biſhops in the fourth Age, while he lived; though then Biſhops were farr more numerous, and had all encouragement to meet in greateſt numbers. This makes him ſignifie, that ten thouſand Biſhops aſſembled in the skirts of the *Eaſt part* of the *Empire*: When as their was not near ſo many (this Gentleman is concerned to maintain there was not *one thouſand*) in the *whole* Chriſtian World.

This is more than enough to ſhew that there is ſufficient warrant to Tranſlate μύριοι, *Thouſands* more than once; though that it is in that diſcourſe (which he ſtiles *a little Pamphlet*) ſo tranſlated more then once, is another of his miſtakes. And a *third* (all in two lines) is that the Author grounds his Argument on it. Whereas thoſe that view the paſſage, and the occaſion of it, will ſee it had been more for his advantage to have tranſlated it *ten thouſands*. He that can allow himſelf to write at this rate, may eaſily be voluminous, and look too big to be deſpiſed, as a writer of *little Pamphlets*. The

The Letter *mentioned* pag. 45. *being communicated to me by* M. B. *that part of it which concerns* Alexandria *is here added, that it may appear how much it is mistaken, and how farr from being answered.*

For *Alexandria* it was the greatest City in the Empire next to *Rome*, μεγίστη μετὰ τὴν Ρωμὴν ἡ πόλις, says *Josephus de bello Judaic lib.* 5. *c. ult.* And *Epiphanius* gives an account of many Churches in it assigned to several Presbyters, *viz.* besides *Cæsarea* finished by *Athanasius*, that of *Dionysius*, *Theonas*, *Pierius*, *Serapion*, *Perseas*, *Dizia*, *Mundidius*, *Annianus*, *Baucalas*, adding καὶ ἄλλαι. *Hæres* 69. *page* 728: This notwithstanding that the Christians at *Alexandria* which held Communion with *Athanasius*, might and did meet together in one Church, he himself declares expressly in his Apology to *Constantius*, *page* 531. *Tom.* 1. *Edit. Commelin. Anno* 1601. The whole passage is too large to transcribe or translate, this is the sence of it. He being accused for assembling the People in the great Church before it was dedicated (πρὶν αὐτὴν τελεσθῆναι) makes this part of his defence. 'The 'confluence of the People at the Paschal solem-

nity

'nity was so great that if they had met in seve-
'ral assemblies (κατὰ μέρος καὶ διημένας) the other
'Churches were so little and strait, that they
'would have been in danger of suffering by
'the crowd, nor would the universal harmo-
'ny and concurrence of the People have been
'so visible and effectual, if they had met in
'parcels. Therefore he appeals to him, whe-
'ther it was not better for the whole multi-
'tude to meet in that great Church (being a
'place large enough to receive them altogether
'ὄντος ἤδη ποτὲ τοῦ δυναμένου δέξασθαι πάντας, ἐν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν,) and
'to have a concurrence of all the people with
'one voice (καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ συμφωνίας τῆς λαῶν γίνεσθαι τοῦ
'φωνῆν.) For if says he according to our Savi-
'viours promise, where two shall agree as
'touching any thing, it shall be done for them
'of my Father, &c. How prevalent will be
'the one voice of so numerous a People assem-
'bled together and saying *Amen* to God? Who
'therefore would not wonder, who would not
'count it a happiness, to see so great a People
'met together in one place? And how did the
'people rejoice to behold one another, where-
'as formerly they assembled in several places?

Hereby it is evident that in the middle of the fourth Age, all the Christians at *Alexan-*

dria which were wont at other times to meet in several assemblies, were no more than one Church might and did contain, so as they could all join at once in the Worship of God and concurre in one *Amen.*

He tells him also that *Alexander* his Predecessor,(who died *An.* 325)did as much as he in like circumstances, *viz.* assembled the whole multitude in one Church before it was dedicated, *pag.* 532.

This seems clear enough, but being capable of another kind of proof which may be no less satisfactory, let me add that also. This City was by *Strabo* his description of it, χλαμυδοειδὴς τὸ χῶμα, like a Soldiers Coat, whose length at either side was almost 30 Furlongs, its breadth at either end 7 or 8 Furlongs, *Geogr. lib.* 17. *pag.* 546. so the whole compass will be less than ten Miles. A third or fourth part of this was taken up with publick Buildings, Temples, and Royal Palaces, ἔχει τε ἡ πόλις τεμένη, τὰ τε κοινὰ κάλλιστα καὶ βασίλεια, τέταρτον, ἢ καὶ τρίτον τῆς παντὸς περιβόλου μέρος. *ibid.* two Miles and half or three and a quarter is thus disposed of. I take this to be that Region of the City which *Epiphanius* calls ἐρέμιον, (where he tells us, was the famous Library of *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*) and speaks of

of it in his time as destitute of Inhabitants, ἔρημων πινῶν ἐνπάρχων *de Ponder. & mensur, n.* 9. *p.* 166 A great part of the City was assigned to the Jews, πόλεως ἀφώρισο μεγα μέρος τῷ ἔθνει τέτῳ. So *Strabo* indefinitely, as *Josephus* quotes him. *Antiquit. Jud. l.* 14. *c.* 12. Others tells us more punctually, their share was two of the five divisions (*Ushers Annals Latin, pag.* 859.) Though many of them had their habitation in the other divisions, yet they had two fifth parts entire to themselves, and this is (I suppose) the πρῶτος ἰδιος which *Josephus* saith, the Successors of *Alexander* set apart for them (αὐτοῖς ἀφώρισαν, *bello Jud. l.* 2. *cap.* 21. Thus we see already how 6 or 7 miles of the 10 were taken up. The greatest part of the Citizens (as at *Rome* and other Cities) in the beginning of the 4th. Age were Heathens. Otherwise *Antonius* wrong'd the City, who, in *Athanasius*'s time, is brought in thus exclaiming by *Jerom. vit. Paul. p.* 243. *Væ tibi Alexandria quæ pro Deo portenta veneraris*; *væ tibi civitas meretrix in quam totius orbis dæmonia confluxere*, &c. a Charge thus formed, supposes the prevailing party to be guilty. But let us suppose them equal, and their proportion half of the 3 or 4 miles remaining, Let the rest be divided amongst the Orthodox, the *Arrians*, the

the *Novatians* and other Sects: And if we be just a large part will fall to the share of Hereticks and Sectaries. For not to mention others, the *Novatians* had several Churches and a Bishop there, till *Cyrils* time, *vid. Socrat. Hist. l. 7. c. 7.* The *Arians* were a great part of those who professed Christianity, τῶν λαῶν ἐκ ὀλίγου μοῖραν, (*Sozom. Hist. l. 1. c. 14.*) and if we may judge of the followers by their leaders, no less than half. For whereas there were 19 Presbyters and Deacons in that Church (*Theod. Hist. l. 4. c. 23.*) (12 was the number of their Presbyters by their Antient Constitution, as appears by *Eutychius*, and 7 their Deacons, as at *Rome*, and elsewhere) 6 Presbyters with *Arius*, and 5 Deacons fell off from the Catholicks. *Sozom. Hist. l. 1. c. 14.* But let the *Arians* be much fewer, yet will not the proportion of the Catholick Bishops Diocese in this City, be more than that of a small Town, one of 8 or 12 Furlongs in compass. And so the numbers of the Christians upon this account, will be no more than might well meet for Worship in one place.

FINIS.

READER.

THE first Epistle is now written upon the sight of Jugulum Causæ: The other with the Propositions was written about a year and half ago, upon the sight of Papa ultrajectinus, &c. and the Paræneſis contra Ædificatores Imperii in Imperio: And the design of all is, to shew how little or nothing at all the sober moderate Protestants, called Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent, and Political or Erastian are disagreed in all this business, whilst I name you near a hundred Propositions in which they commonly consent: That Princes and all Magistrates may see, that they have no cause to be offended at the Christian and Protestant Doctrine, or to judge the true Religion of any of these parties, as such, to be contrary to their interest; when in very truth they are in that all one: But that among all Sects and Parties, there will be still some injudicious, intemperate and unpeaceable men; especially those whose Interest in the world is Great, and cannot be upheld, without encroaching on the rights of others: As Great Trees must have much room, and suffer

nothing to prosper under them, but Weeds and Bryars. And it is to tell Politicians, that the true Pastoral Power (being a Power to labour and suffer *in* patient self-denyal *for the Church of Christ and the souls of men) is past all doubt of Christs appointment: And to diminish that Power, is but to diminish our obligation to* labour *and* suffer, *and to gratifie our sloth and fleshly interest. But to diminish that Secular Church-power which Clergie men claim as of Divine Right, is but for Princes to be Princes, whether the Clergie will or no.*

And as to the Learned Author, Dr. Lud. Molinæus, *my meaning is to second him in awakening Magistrates to reassume their proper power, and to leave it in no Clergie mens hands, of what party soever: But as to his reflections on the Protestants Discipline, lovingly to chide him for making the difference seem wider than it is, and to RECONCILE the four Parties, while I distinctly open the common Doctrine of them all, excepting the rigid Opinions of some interessed or intemperate individuals.*

R. B. vide Bar. Life part 3. p. 85

My

My Learned, Sincere and Worthy Friend,

WHEN I had haſtily ſet down my judgement of the Cauſe which I found handled in your *Papa Ultrajectinus* and other Writings which you ſent me, I caſt by that Script (which I intended at the writing of it, for your view) that I might ſurely keep it from the notice of others, in this Age wherein the prevalency of *Intereſt*, *Faction*, *Paſſion* and *Injudiciouſneſs*, doth make it ſo great a difficulty, to ſay any thing for the cure of any mens *errors*, *enormities* or *impieties*, which ſhall not be charged with the ſame crime (or greater) which it would cure, and be taken for a diſturber of the *Church* and *Peace*, which it would ſave or heal. But now ſeeing that you renew your endeavours in the ſame Cauſe, and finding your *Jugulum Cauſæ* directed to ſo many hands, by ſeventy particular Epiſtles, and that you have honoured me with a place among thoſe great and worthy perſons, I take my ſelf obliged to render you ſome account of my judgement of your Writings, and eſpecially of the whole Cauſe, by bringing into the open light, thoſe hundred Propoſitions which I had purpoſed to conceal: And withal to tell you,

1. That (though you have much overvalued me in your recitation of their report, who would have joyned me with ſo *Great*, ſo *Wiſe* and *Good* a man as *A* Biſhop *Uſher*, and that in ſo great a work; and experience may tell you, that other men have other thoughts of me, as one unmeet to preach the Goſpel in the Land of my Nativity, much more

unmeet to be a decider of the Churches Controverſies) yet you have truly deſcribed my judgement of your ſelf and your undertaking. I confeſs I hope not that ever you ſhould make the *Roman* Uſurpation, more palpable, than the falſhood of their Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; where they maintain (not only the Corporal Preſence, which is not it that I now mean, but) that *Bread is not Bread*, and *Wine is not Wine*, when all men *ſee*, *taſte*, *ſmell* and *feel* them: And if the Princes, Doctors, and great men of the world, can thus obſtinately deny (or take on them to deny) the judgement which is made of ſenſible objects, by all mens ſenſes, you may gather what fruit you may expect of your labours, or of any Cauſe how plain ſoever, where *prejudice* and *ſeeming intereſt* are againſt you? Can all the Writings or Reaſonings in the world, bring any thing to a more *clear and ſure* deciſion, than that of all the ſenſes of all men in the world, about the proper objects of ſenſe? If *fleſh* ſo far conquer *fleſh it ſelf*, and the intereſt of *ſenſuality* can cauſe ſuch men, and ſuch multitudes to renounce the apprehenſion of all their ſenſes, what have we to do more for the cure of mankind?

You have made it plain enough, that it is really a part of the Secular Government of Kings and States, which is now commonly called *Eccleſiaſtical* among the Papiſts, and as ſuch is challenged and uſurped by the Pope, and that Princes that ſubject their Kingdoms to his Uſurpation, do take in a *joint Ruler* with them, and divide their *Kingdoms* or *Power* between themſelves and him. But ſo they *have done*, and ſo they *will do*, till the Time of the Churches fuller Reformation, and of the Coalition of the Chriſtian world is come.

I know you may think that as *Intereſt* blindeth them, ſo this great detection of the Invaſion of their *Intereſt* is the way to bring them to the truth. For who will have a Co-partner with him in his Kingdom, that may chooſe? Who had not rather Rule alone, than divide his Kingdom with the Pope? Undoubtedly they give away more of their own Intereſt hereby, than you have opened? When they deliver part of their power to one, who by an *ap-*

proved

proved General Council of their own, which is the *Religion* of their Party, *Later. sub Innoc. 3. Can.* 2. 3. may *depose Temporal Lords*, (though no Protestants themselves) that will *not exterminate those that deny Transubstantiation out of their Dominions, and may absolve their subjects from their fidelity, and may give their Countryes unto others.* When their most Learned, Renowned, applauded Doctors teach, that the Pope may excommunicate Kings, and that an excommunicated King is no King, and he that killeth him, killeth not a King. When the *Roman Council* under *Greg.* 7. decreeth, that *the Pope may depose Emperours* : And the same *Greg.* 7. *li.* 4. *Ep.* 7. conspireth in the like Doctrine. The Oration of Card. *Peron* is well known : If so great a Kingdom as *France*, that glorieth of its Church-liberties, can bear so much, what will not those bear, that are less able to deliver themselves? The words of this Great and pretendedly Moderate Cardinal in a Moderate Kingdom, in a publick Writing against a Protestant Learned King (King *James*) *pag.* 453. (as cited by *A.* Bishop *Usher* of *Babylon*, *pag.* 163. is fit to be written on the Doors of all Princes, and of the Pope himself, in Capital Letters ; *viz.* [*By this Article* (that Kings may not be deposed by the Pope) *We are cast headlong into a manifest Heresie, as binding us to confess, that for many Ages past the Catholick Church hath been banished out of the whole world : For if the Champions of the Doctrine contrary to this Article do hold an impious and detestable opinion contrary to Gods Word, then doubtless the Pope for so many hundred years expired, hath not been the Head of the Church, but a* HERETICK *and the* ANTICHRIST.]

Read the Declaration against the Oath of Allegiance by *H. I.* for the Popes deposing Kings, *par.* 16, 17, 27 43. Read *Hottomans Franco-Gal. cap.* 7. and his *Brutum fulmen*, *pag.* 87, 97, 98. Read *Withrington* and *Barclay* against *Bellarmin* in *Goldastus Tom.* 3. *de Mon.* And *Bellarmin* against *Barclay c.* 9. *Vid. Suarez.* 2. *advers. sect. Anglic. li* 6. *cap.* 4. *sect.* 14. *& cap.* 6. *sect.* 22. 24. *Azor. Inst. Mor. par.* 1. *l.* 8 *c.* 13. *Dom. Bannes in Thom.* 22. *q.* 12. *art.* 2. *August. Triump. de potest. Eccl. q* 46. *art.* 2. There is no doubt (saith he) but the Pope may depose all Kings when there is reasonable cause for it.] See the Jesuits Morals, and Mystery of Jesuitism, and *Myster. Patrum Jesuitarum.*

What would you have more to satisfie Kings, than their own

own profession that, *Either the Pope may depose Kings, or else he is not the Head of the Church, but an Heretick and Antichrist*, and hath been so for many hundred years. Can you shew their Interest plainlier than all this?

And lest any say, that this is but the Doctrine of the Jesuits, remember that *Perron* was another kind of man, and the famous Perverter of King *Henry* the fourth. And I will cite here the words of one more of a multitude, even one that wrote so long ago, as to be numbred with the Fathers *in Biblioth. Patr. To.* 4. *p.* 913. and a *Roman* Cardinal *Bertrand Card. & Epis. Eduens. de Orig. & usu Jurisd. Qu.* 4. [*Respondeo & dico quod Potestas Spiritualis debet dominari omni humanæ Creaturæ per rationes Hostiensis——Item quia Jesus Christus filius Dei dum fuit in hoc mundo, & etiam ab æterno naturalis dominus fuit, & de jure naturali in Imperatores & quoscunque alios depositionis sententias ferre potuisset, & damnationis, & quascunque alias: Utpote in personas quas creaverat, & donis naturalibus & gratuito donaverat, & etiam conservabat. Et eadem ratione* ☞ *etiam ejus Vicarius potest. Nam non videtur discretus Domi-* ☞ *nus fuisse (ut cum reverentia ejus loquar) nisi unicum post* ☞ *se talem Vicarium reliquisset, qui hæc omnia posset. Fuit autem iste Vicarius ejus Petrus apud Mattheum: Et idem dicendum est de Successoribus Petri, cum eadem absurditas sequeretur, si post mortem Petri humanam naturam a se creatam sine regimine unius personæ reliquisset.*]

I will English it lest the unlearned believe not what *Fathers*, what a *Biblioth. Patrum*, what Cardinals, and what Doctrines the *Roman* Clergy obtrude upon the Christian world.

[*I answer and say, that the spiritual Power ought to have domination over every humane creature, by* Hostiensis *reasons ——Also because Jesus Christ the Son of God while he was in this world, and also from Eternity, was the Natural Lord: and by Natural Right, could pass the sentence of Deposition and of Damnation, and any other, upon Emperours and upon any others; as being persons that he had created and endowed with Natural Gifts, and freely, and also preserved: And by the same reason his Vicar can do it: For the Lord seemeth*

not

not to have been discreet (that I may speak with reverence to him) unless he had left behind him one such Vicar, who could do all these things. And in Matthew *this his Vicar was* Peter: *And the same must be said of the successors of* Peter, *seeing the same absurdity would follow, if after the death of* Peter *he had left humane nature created by himself, without the Regiment of One person.*]

Do you think this is not plain dealing enough, if men are willing to understand?

I know that there were Emperours and Princes that strugled hard, before they suffered themselves to be thus subjected; And these Emperours had Lawyers, Statesmen and Divines that took their parts; as all the Treatises in *Goldastus* his three Volumes *de Monarch.* and his *Imp. Constit.* shew. But still those that *sided with the Pope* spake contrary, as the argumentations of those Books besides the Authors whom they oppose, do shew. And, alas, *Occham*, and *Marsilius Patavinus*, and *Widdrington* and *Barclay* came all too late. For all that *Secular Power* which was cloaked with the name of *Ecclesiastical* and *Spiritual*, was before so deeply rooted in the Papacy, that they durst plead for no more, than that Princes are not subject to the Pope in Temporals: But as you truly note, abundance of Temporals, and of the Magistrates proper work about things Ecclesiastical, was still vailed under the name of *Spiritual*: And at last, even the *Temporal Power* again claimed more subtilly, and indirectly, as *in ordine ad spiritualia.*

See *Bellarm. de Pontif. Ro. li. 5. c. 1. & 6. & 7. & 8.* he saith, It is the common judgement of all Catholick Divines, that the Pope *ratione spiritualis* hath at least indirectly a certain Power, and that the highest in Temporals. Which *c. 6.* he saith, *is just such over Princes, as the soul hath over the body; or sensitive appetite: and that thus he may change Kingdoms, and take them from one, and give to another, as the chief Spiritual Prince, if it be but necessary to the safety of souls.* Yea, he saith, that *It is not lawful for Christians to tolerate an Infidel or Heretical King, if he endeavour to draw his Subjects to his Heresie or unbelief. But to judge whether a King do draw to Heresie or not, belongeth to the Pope, to whom the care of Religion is committed: Therefore it belongeth to the Pope to judge a King to be deposed,* &c.

But you'l say, that *All men are naturally so regardful of their own Interest, and especially Princes, that it is not possible, they should be so servile, tame and self-abasing, as to give*

away so great a part of their Kingdoms to a Forreigner, yea, to one that claimeth all, (by himself, or by his most famous Writers) and by his Councils claimeth a power to depose them; They that with their own Nobles and other Subjects, are so jealous of their Prerogatives, would never so far depose themselves, if they did but know what they do: And therefore when Popish Princes understand the matter, they will shake off the yoke, and reassume their right.

Answ. It's true, that Protestant Princes and States have done so; And the true meaning of our Oath of Supremacy is the same with your main design: And though some have stumbled at those words, that the King is *Supream Governour in all Causes Ecclesiastical*, the meaning is only (as hath been oft publickly declared) that *he is the Supream Civil or Coactive Governour by the Sword, in all Causes Ecclesiastical*, so far as they fall under that Coactive or Coercive Government. And hereby the King doth but reassume the Royal Power over the Clergy and the affairs of Religion, which the Pope had usurped under the name of *Ecclesiastical*. For its well known what was called *Ecclesiastical Power* in *England* in the times of Popery: so that this much of the Vail is removed long ago among all Protestants. And if you peruse but Bishop *Bilsons* excellent Tract of *Christian Subjection*, and Bishop *Andrews* his *Tortura Torti* (to pass by all others) you will see that this Case is better opened, than I for my part am able to open it. And it is seldom heard of (for all the industry and subtilty of *Rome*) that any Prince or State doth Voluntarily turn Papist, that is once delivered from the Yoke, and that ever again parteth with his power when he hath recovered it.

But yet that even this Argument from *Notorious Interest*, doth not recover the Liberty of Countreys subject to the Pope, you will the less wonder, if you consider these three things.

1. That the Papal Interest hath got such rooting in their Subjects minds, that it is not in their power to reassume their right. The Clergy are so numerous, subtile, ubiquitary and potent, and the people so commonly deceived, and so tenacious of ancient Customs, that to make this Change,

Change, might cast all into a flame: And they think it better to lose part, than all. And no doubt but the examples of *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth of *France*, make some think, that if they displease the Pope and his Confederates, they have not sufficient security for their lives.

2. And Princes stand usually on such terms of danger or jealousie from one another, that they are fain to keep such a Peace at home, lest they expose themselves to a greater mischief from abroad. And they are broken by the Papal subtilty, especially in *Germany* and *Italy*, into such Fractions, and petty Principalities, that few of them are strong enough to defend themselves against the Confederates of the Pope (when potent Emperours heretofore could not do it.) And many of them, especially the House of *Austria*, do take this Copartnership of the Pope, to be a great part of their strength: And as anciently many Emperours were forced to choose their *Cæsars* and Copartners, when the defence of the Empire was too hard for themselves alone; so divers Princes are glad to make use of the Papal interest and power for their own security; though upon terms that else would never be submitted to.

And in some Countreys the Rebellious disposition of the Subjects driveth them to accept of this dear remedy; and they choose rather to strengthen themselves by a Copartner, than to stoop to the wills of their inferiours.

For here you must take notice, that the pretence of a *Jus divinum* and of *Spirituality*, and the *Interest* of *Christ*, and of the *safety* of their souls, doth make this kind of servitude much less dishonourable, than it is to be overtopt by a neighbour Prince, or to be curbed by their subjects. For what dishonour is it for a man to be subject to his Maker and Redeemer? Nay, what greater honour can there be? And the *Roman* Clergy have used themselves to Canonize those Princes that have been most zealous for their Grandure, and to raise the fame and praises of such, as have raised that which they call the Church, that the very ambition of the Clergies Praises, doth do much to tempt some to a tame acceptance of a Copartner, who pretendeth to be the Vicar of Christ: When this servitude goeth for

ſanctity, and carrieth not with it the reproach of other ſorts of ſervitude.

3. And it greatly furthereth their ſucceſs, that the Popes Agents are commonly bred up in Learning, and ſo are made able to over-wit the Laity; And that it is their great deſign, to gratifie the Luſts of Princes, by indulging their voluptuous ſenſual lives, that ſo they may ſpend their dayes in ſuch things, as will never advance their underſtandings to an ability to diſcern the cheats of their Copartners: And they deteſtably cheriſh the Ignorance of the Common Laity, that they may be the fitter to be led and maſtered by them; even as men keep women from Learning and great attainments, leſt they ſhould be the more uncapable of ſubjection. And thus as Satan leadeth men to Hell, ſo the Papal Uſurper bringeth the Laity into their power, by their *own conſent*, by ſuch *pleaſing baits*, as make their ſervitude eaſie to them. And it is not your telling them of their intereſt, that will prevail againſt all theſe temptations. They that will loſe Heaven, and their ſalvation by ſuch cheats, may loſe half of their earthly Dominions by them, as long as the other half ſufficeth to ſatisfie their concupiſcence, and to maintain their honour and pleaſure in the world.

The *Roman* Uſurpation conſiſteth of two parts. 1. The Uſurpation of ſuch a *Paſtoral Power* as they have no right to. 2. The Uſurpation of a great part of the Magiſtrates power, ſometime *directly*, and ſometimes indirectly *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*; and conſtantly by the cheat of the falſe name of Church *power*, put upon the Magiſtrates part of Church Government, as if it were the Clergies part.

I. The Uſurpation of a Paſtoral power which belongeth not to them, is the chief part of their Iniquity. And it conſiſteth in theſe, among other particulars.

1. In the impious, and arrogant claim of an Univerſal Paſtorſhip over all the world. The *Roman* Prelate muſt be the Teacher of all the world, the High Prieſt of all the world, and the Spiritual Ruler of all the world; which becauſe he cannot do by himſelf, he muſt do by others, as far as he can to uphold his uſurpation. He muſt be the Law-

giver

giver and the Judge of all the world, even at the Antipodes, and where he hath no acquaintance nor acceſs.

2. By this he undertaketh to be a Biſhop in other mens Dioceſſes, and to rule in all matters, where he hath no more power, than any Paſtor hath in another Paſtoral Charge.

3. And by this he undertaketh to be the Spiritual Father and Governour of all the Kings and Rulers of the Chriſtian world, and ſo to have the power of excommunicating them when he thinketh there is cauſe, and to brand them as uncapable of Chriſtian communion with their own Subjects; or with any other Chriſtians.

4. By this he uſurpeth authority of impoſing what Paſtors he pleaſe (even ſuch as will carry on his intereſt) upon all the Churches in the world, and depriving both Princes and people of their juſt liberty of choice.

5. By this alſo he uſurpeth the power of depoſing what Biſhops or Paſtors he pleaſe, and depriving the people of their neceſſary helps, and faithfulleſt Teachers. Yea, of putting whole Nations under Interdicts of ſerving and honouring God in Church-aſſemblies; commanding all Paſtors to ſhut up the Church-doors, and forbidding them to perfom their office, and to preach Chriſts Goſpel, or adminiſter his holy Sacraments.

6. By this he ſendeth forth his Miſſionaries, and ſetteth up Societies of Jeſuits and Fryers to do his work, and commandeth all Princes and people to receive and countenance them.

7. By this he layeth claim to a right of maintenance for Himſelf and his Miſſionaries in all parts of the world, in the name of Chriſt, who hath ſaid, that the labourer is worthy of his hire.

8. By this he granteth Diſpenſations, Pardons, Indulgences, commandeth praying to Saints and Angels, and praying for the Dead, as being in Purgatory, and by this he ſetteth up his whole new frame of ſelf-deviſed Worſhip and Religion. Now I call not all this an Uſurpation of Magiſtracy, ſo far as he uſeth no Corporal force, and threatneth no penalty but excommunication and damna-

tion. For every true Pastor with his own flock hath the Power of Guiding them by delivering Christs Doctrine and Precepts, and commanding obedience as his Servant or Embassadour in his Name, and of denouncing his judgements, and of judging obligingly who are fit to be taken in to the Church by Baptism, and who to be cast out as Impenitent by excommunication in his own particular Charge or Society. And if the Pope usurp a power of doing all this and more, as an Universal Pastor only, this is an Usurpation of a *Church Power*, and not of a *Magistracy*. And indeed if you will acquit him from the guilt of the Mysterie of Iniquity any further than he invadeth Magistracy it self, you will do him a great deal of wrong: For he is the *Vicarius Christi*, and the *Vice-Christ* more notably by his *Spiritual Usurpation* of a power proper to *Christ himself*, or at least of a power that Christ never gave him.

II. His setting up a KINGDOM, and invading the MAGISTRACY is done I. Directly, II. Indirectly and Consequentially.

I. Directly; 1. By holding a Secular Jurisdiction, as the King of *Rome*, where he exerciseth the Supream Civil Power, acknowledging no Superiour Civil Governour; either as to the Legislation or Execution, in all the parts of his own Dominions.

2. By his laying claim to many Kingdoms as his own (among which *England* is one, as pretended to be delivered to him by King *John*) and supposing that the Kings do hold them as under him, and by his Grant.

3. By laying claim to the Temporal or Corporal Government of all the world (say some) or of all the Christian world (say others): Of which you may see a multitude of Volumes written in the defence of his pretensions: In particular all those aforesaid were of this subject, which all *Goldastus* his Collected Treatises, for the Right of Princes do confute. I gave you Cardinal *Bertrands* words before.

And though some of their Clergy who live under Princes that are not willing to resign their Crowns, do disclaim the

the *Popes direct Title* to the Universal Civil Soveraignty, yet he himself disclaimeth it not, nor condemneth the Books as such, that have been written to defend it.

In the *Jesuits Morals* the last Chapter hath this Title [*That the Jesuits teach, that the Church cannot command spiritual and internal actions; That its Laws and guidance are humane, and that it is it self only a Political Body*] Where the *Jansenist* chargeth them with destroying the Church from its foundation, and making it altogether external, humane and Politick; and that which needeth only Politick Vertues for its Government, and the exercise of its principal offices, and that they make its Laws but humane and politick, which oblige only to things external: and chargeth them as *Cyprian* did the *Novatians*, *Quod Ecclesiam humanam faciunt*] So that if he accuse them justly, here is no room for any *subterfuge*: It is not the Spiritual and Temporal power that he makes them claim, but the Temporal or External only: But what! doth the *Jansenist* himself therefore disclaim all Temporal Power in the Church, or is he just to Kings? Judge but by *pag.* 388. where he boasteth of *Laymans* Confession of the Truth, that [*Ecclesiastick power is instituted immediately from God, and the Civil power comes immediately from men: And that Civil power regards properly and directly wealth and peace temporal only:*] And he adds [*For the Civil power regards the outward order and Civil tranquility alone; and prescribes none but outward and humane means to attain this end.*] Which is all false, and most injurious to Kings; whom this moderate *Jansenist* would hereby set as far below every Priest, in real dignity and amiableness to the Subjects as a Humane Creature is below a Divine, and the interest of the body is below that of the soul. Whereas indeed God is the immediate Original of Civil and Church power, though in both *the Persons* are designed by the means of men. And both have God himself for their ultimate end, and the Common Good of the Society for their Common End; which ever consisteth most in spiritual felicity, referring to Eternal. Though the Magistrates weapon be the Sword, and the Pastors only the Word, by which all this is brought to pass.

Indeed

Indeed it is not possible that the Papacy in its present State can be defended by any man how moderate soever, without Injury to Princes and States, whose Power the Pope hath so notoriously invaded and usurped: For how can they defend him, that usurpeth the Power of Kings, or usurpeth a false *Power* over Kings, and not be injurious to them that the Usurper injureth?

But it is most wonderful to me, that when *W. Barclay* defendeth the right of Monarchs in such a Kingdom as *France* that hath *power and will* to hold fast its own, he should complain as if he undertook a Cause which most were against him in, and in which he expected to be wondered at for his singularity.

4. By their Inquisition, and by their Decreeing Corporal Penalties in their Councils, and Decreeing the deposition of Princes, and the giving away their Dominions to others, as in the two fore-cited Councils, *Roman. sub. Greg. 7. & Lateran. sub Innoc. 3.* In a word, by all that they do in their Usurped Legislation, Judgement and Execution, by the *Sword*, or a *forcing Power* as in themselves.

II. But the more successful Usurpation of the *Power* and *Rights* of Princes is *Indirectly*, and as *Bellarmin* defendeth it, in *ordine ad spiritualia*; By using their Ecclesiastical Usurped power upon mens Consciences, in such a way as shall overtop the Magistrates power of the Sword: when they decree that all are Hereticks that *believe their senses*, and deny Transubstantiation, and that all such Hereticks shall be banished or burnt; the Clergy is not to do this themselves, but to deliver them over to the Secular Power: The Pope and Clergy do but charge it on their Consciences in the name of Christ. And if Princes obey them not, or Temporal Lords will not burn or banish all such *Hereticks for believing sense*, the Pope is not to touch their bodies, but to *excommunicate* them. And if they will not *yet obey the Pope*, when they are excommunicate, the Pope, Good man, will not draw a Sword against them, but only use the *Spiritual Sword*, by *giving their Dominions to others*, which is but by *word of mouth*; he doth but declare such a Temporal Lord to be dispossest of his Title, and require another

another to take his Lands, and let his great Divines publiſh that an Excommunicate King is no King, and that to kill him, is not to kill a King: And if Princes will defend themſelves by Arms, the Pope will not ſend his Clergy in Arms againſt them, but only by the Spiritual Sword, or Word, command other Princes, States and people to arm themſelves againſt their Emperours, Kings and Governours, and to defend thoſe to whom he hath given their Dominions. How oft theſe Games have been ſeriouſly acted, the *German* Hiſtories lamentably tell us: and *Guicciardines Italian*, and the *Engliſh*, *French* and others are not wholly ſilent.

So if the Clergy be exempt from paying Taxes, from Secular Judgements, if their Lands and Eſtates be not under the Power of Kings, if they ſet up Courts of Judicature with Offices like a Civil Court, if they aſſume to themſelves the ſole judgement of Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks, and Apoſtates, and alſo of Teſtaments of the dead, and of Cauſes of Adultery and Fornication, of lawful or unlawful degrees of Marriage, and of Divorce, if the Pope lay Taxes on the Clergy that are Subjects in all Princes Dominions, if he diſpoſe of Buildings, Tythes, Glebes, Monaſteries, Lands, Almshouſes, Colledges, and abundance ſuch like; all this is not by the *Sword*, but by perſwading Kings and States that they are bound in Conſcience to promote all this, and obey the Pope as their Ghoſtly Father herein: And that if they be ſtricken with the Thunderbolt of Excommunication, they are in a ſtate of damnation, and if they ſo dye, are undone for ever: And by perſwading other Princes and people, that the Arms taken up againſt ſuch Princes at the Popes Command (according to the foreſaid Councils) are meritorious, and ſhall procure their ſalvation.

And if Princes and people will believe all this, and will be deceived, and will voluntarily ſubject themſelves to ſuch an Uſurper, who can help it? Though it excuſe not the Pope, yet they have little reaſon to complain, that they loſe that power which they voluntarily give away, and that the Pope ſhall exerciſe that power which they

give him. And ſo much to your Cauſe againſt the Papacy.

II. But in your Epiſtle to Mr. *Areskin* and ſeveral others, you lay much of the like charge upon the Reformed Churches, and you take our great Reforming Divines, to have kept up the Myſterie of Iniquity in their Diſcipline. Concerning which give me leave to deal freely with you, and to tell you, that I am perſwaded that your meaning is ſincere and good, and that it is an *uſurpation* or deviſed *imitation* of Secular Government by the Clergy which you condemn; and that too great a part of the Proteſtant Clergy have given you ſome occaſion for theſe complaints: But that really you deal *not accurately* in the Controverſie, and *Accurateneſs* is the thing you want. You do not here *exactly deſcribe* the *true difference* between the ſeveral powers where you *ſeem* to deſcribe them; you leave out much that ſhould be ſaid. It is a more diſtinct way of handling this point, that muſt decide the Controverſie. To which end I have laid you down an hundred Propoſitions, on occaſion of your former Writings ſent me.

And as you ſay in *Epiſt. ad D. Ruſſellum*, *p.* 248. that in this you would believe one Phyſicion, one *Coxe*, *Goddard*, *Lower*, *Ridgley*, *&c.* (Though I have reaſon to think that the firſt and laſt of theſe are more of my mind about Church Government than of yours) before a thouſand *Auguſtines*, *Hieroms*, *Gregories*, yea, *Jewells*, *Davenant*, *Ushers*, *Dallees*; ſo my opinion is, that uſually all men are *wiſeſt* in their own Profeſſion. And though I am naturally ſomewhat unapt to take more than needs I muſt upon truſt from any (ſince I have had great experience of humane ignorance and vanity) yet I had rather take a Phyſicions judgement in Phyſick, and a Lawyers in points of Law, and a Souldiers in Military matters, and a Divines in Theology, than any of their judgements about the matters of an aliene Profeſſion. Not but that now and then a man may ariſe, that ſhall know more on the by, than others that make it the ſtudy of their lives: But that is not uſual. And *that one man* would have been *yet wiſer*, in thoſe things if he had been of that Profeſſion.

For

For surely *cæteris paribus*, he that bestoweth twenty years, or thirty, or forty, or threescore in the Study of Divinity alone, with its subservient helps, is liker to understand it, than he that alloweth it, but now and then a spare hour, in the midst of other diverting Studies. For my part, if I follow not one thing only when I am upon it, but divide my thoughts among things heterogeneal, I cannot pierce deep into any great difficulties, nor make any thing of distracted Studies; *neque quicquam recte fit, quod fit præoccupato animo.* God doth not use to give wisdom now by the way of Miracles; but *they that seek* most, are likest to *find.* And therefore pardon me for telling you, that though I am deservedly a great honourer of the Physicions you name, yet I set more by the Judgement of one *Usher*, one *Davenant*, one *Jewell*, one *Dallæus*, one *Blondel*, one *Camero*, one *Le Blanc*, one *Petrus Molinæus* in matters of Theology, than of abundance of Lawyers and Physicions. And of one Lawyer and Physicion in matters of their Profession, than of many Divines. Being still of *Pembles* mind, that one clear eye can see further than a Council of purblind ones.

And as to the matter of *Partiality* of which you suspect Divines, it is not without cause as to all *that party* who seek for *Riches, Ease and Honours, or Domination and Preferments and Prehemineney in the world:* But such as that St. *Martin* whom you mention out of *Severus*, who so vehemently opposed the *Ithacian* Violence, * and *Maximus* his using the Sword against the *Priscillianists* are as impartial as you. Certainly if Christianity be what we all profess to take it for, it will make that man *best* who is most a Christian: And he that is *best* will be most impartially and self-denyingly faithful to Christ, and will prefer Christs honour incomparably before his own. And he is like to be most a Christian, who doth sincerely give up himself to the closest study of it all his dayes. Deny this, and your suspicions will fall upon Christianity it self.

* *You are mistaken when you twice call* Maximus Imperator Ethnicus, *who but for his usurpation, had been a Christian Saint.*

But yet I will allow you to be moderately suspicious

where you see that there is any *great bait of carnal interest* to tempt men: A *Popedome*, a *Cardinalship*, (I must name no more) may make the *Roman* Heathen say, I will turn Christian, if you will make me Bishop of *Rome*, *&c.* But will you suspect that a good man, yea, and all such good men, should be *Partial* where they put themselves on the greatest *self-denyal?* Where they have no profit, no preferment, no man-pleasing, no worldly honour to invite them? Yea, where it is like to diminish their gain, to hinder them from preferment, to make them hated by most on whom their discipline is exercised? If a *few* out of a pang of Factious or Phanatick zeal, may cast themselves on such a self-denying life, it is not like that this will be the *ordinary* Case, of Learned, sober, godly men. If it be, with whom shall the ignorant trust the conduct of their souls, that will not make merchandize of them? *Would you* be partial and false to the Truth of Christ *your self*, if you were the Pastor of a Church? Is the Office so malignant to infect all that undertake it? If it be, how can our Religion be good? If not, why should you think that *others* will not be as just and impartial as *you* would be? Do you consider what excellent persons in all respects for Wisdom, and Piety, and Integrity, were *Melanchthon*, *Bucholtzer*, *Sohnius*, *Kimedontius*, *Olevian*, *Ursinus*, *Zanchius*, *Paræus*, and those English men you named, and many hundreds more; who more unlikely through Ignorance or partiality to betray the truth?

But they say, that *Interest will not lye.* Do you not know that an able Preacher, may better by many degrees consult his own *Ease*, his *Profit*, and his *worldly honours* by *Preaching* only, than by this troublesome ungrateful work of Discipline? I am confident that you and I do take one another for true plain dealing honest men, and therefore can believe each other. And if you will believe me, I did, in my Pastoral Charge (in those times when I was thought tolerable in the Sacred Office) for about ten years (of the twenty that I had leave to preach) exercise some Discipline upon some particular offendors, according to the common judgement of Protestant Divines; And it

was

was so much to my *labour*, to my expence of time, to the grievous displeasure of those that fell under it, and required so much self-denyal, that when I consulted with flesh and blood, if I might but have forborn it, and only preached, and given the Sacraments to all that came, I should have thought my self so greatly disburdened, as would have made my life to be sensually pleasant: so that, though I had not any maintenance of my own, I think I could gladly have given up all that I received for my Ministry, and made what other shift I could for food and rayment, so I might but have been freed from the trouble of this particular Discipline: I speak only what it was to flesh and blood, and not what it was to faith, which faith God cannot be served too dearly. Till I speak this to one that hath tryed the thing I talk of, I shall take it for granted, that my words are not half understood.

If you say, Why then did you not forbear a work so ungrateful? I now only answer, Why doth not the Judge and Sheriff forbear hanging Murderers and Thieves: The rest of my Answer you shall have anon.

Though my following Propositions seem full enough in opening the difference between the two Powers; yet I will here also briefly tell you, 1. *Somewhat of the nature of Church Power*: 2. *Somewhat of the certain Truth* that Jesus Christ did institute it: 3. Somewhat of the Necessity of it *sub ratione medii ad finem.*

I. For the first, take these few things together, and you may clearly see what power we claim.

1. Our Office for the *Original* of it, is as immediately from Christ as that of Magistrates, and is not made by Kings or any Monarchs. Therefore we hold it as immediately from Christ.

2. For the Matter of it, it is only to expound and apply the Word of God, both commonly in Sermons, and particularly to each mans several Case, as Physicions look to the Cure of individuals: And also to exercise the Keys of the Church or Kingdom of Christ; that is, 1. To be the ordinary Judges who is to be taken in by Baptism; 2. And also who is to be publickly admonished as scanda-

lous, in our particular Charge: 3. And alſo who is to be abſolved as penitent: 4. And who is to be declared unmeet for Church-communion, as obſtinately impenitent, and to be forbidden Communion with the Church, and the Church with him, and conſequently denyed the priviledges of the Church, and ſigns of Communion in the Lords Supper, which it belongeth to the Paſtor to deliver only to the capable, and by the peoples familiarity and brotherly Society, which they are obliged to deny them. And this Sentence of the Paſtor, if it ſhould proceed on miſtake, doth not make the mans Caſe the worſe before God; but yet (till the Church have ſought its due remedy againſt miſtaking Paſtors) it remaineth ſo far valid, as that none againſt it may obtrude himſelf on the Communion of that Church. For, I pray you tell me, if *Plato*, or *Zeno* miſtake in their judgement of a Diſciple whom they refuſe, or any Free Schoolmaſter in judging of the incapacity of a Scholar, ſhall others ſo misjudged intrude into their Schools, and make themſelves their Scholars againſt their wills? Or ſhall he whom by miſ-information you refuſe or reject from your family or ſervice, become your houſhold ſervant in deſpight of you?

3. And as to the Inſtruments and manner of exerciſing our Office, we profeſſedly diſclaim all pretenſions to any power of the Sword, or of corporal penalty, that is coactive or coercive. You confeſs this once your ſelf. We claim no power but by the *Word*, either generally preached, or particularly applyed to the caſe of thoſe that are of our charge. No other power of *Excommunication* do we claim: If men will deſpiſe our Miniſterial inſtructions, reproofs and cenſures, we have done with them. Shall they force themſelves into our familiarity or communion in ſpight of us? Your *Epiſt.* 54. *ad Mettagerium* openeth the matter ſo fairly, that we little differ from it. If you ſay that Presbyterians and Epiſcopal ſet up Courts, Judicatories, with Officers like Civil Courts: I anſwer, 1. The more pomp and likeneſs to the Magiſtrates coercive way, the worſe I like it. 2. But how ſhall men be heard, if they be not cited? How ſhall ſuch things be Juſtly and Regularly,

larly transacted, if there be not a known *Time* and *Place*, and if Accusers and Witnesses be not summoned? Are not such regular proceedings necessary even in Cases of meer arbitration? If this be all, here is no more Sword, no more force, than in a Pulpit. And how doth Excommunication (that is, declaring an Impenitent person unfit for Church Communion by Christs Laws, and binding him over to the great day) I say how doth this touch mens bodies or estates, or work any otherwise than a Pulpit-Sermon on the consciencious Volunteers? 3. And if horning, or Writs *de Excommunicato Capiendo*, or imprisonment, or burning men as Hereticks follow this, all this is the Magistrates own doing? If it be *well*, praise him for it. If it be ill, blame him for it. If Rulers *will* make such Laws, and if they *will* so far be Executioners of the Clergies Decrees, who can hinder them? If it be against *their right*, it is their *own act*, who give so much of their right away. If you say, that Clergy men are too blame that urge them to it; you shall not easily think worse of their so doing, than I do: It is greatly against our wills that the Sword so closely followeth Excommunication. I think it is the effect of Carnal Clergy mens base conceit of their own Sacred Office, as if it were a Leaden unpowerful Sword which Christ hath put into their hands, and Excommunication were invalid, when the Sword forceth not the impenitent to dissemble Repentance and Submission. When great worldly baits have enticed worldly men into the Sacred Office, as to a worldly preferment and Trade, they will judge accordingly and manage it like themselves (which is and hath been the Churches Pest) We would beg on our knees of Kings and Magistrates, if it would prevail, to leave Church Censures to our Lords intended use; and *valeant quantum valere possunt*; and to keep their Sword out of Church-mens hands, and to punish men in their own Courts for every crime that deserveth it; but not *quatenus excommunicate*, or meerly because the Clergy hath judged them unmeet for Church Communion. He that taketh Excommunication alone for no punishment, is not fit to be in the Communion of the Church, and therefore

therefore ſhould not be driven for fear of a Priſon to that which he hath no right to. So that you muſt not charge the acts of Princes, nor of ambitious Cardinals, *&c.* neither on *Calvin*, *Beza*, or any ſuch as them.

And as to *Lay-Elders*, or *Lay-Chancellors*, I am no more for them than you are; that is, as the Magiſtrates Officers, or as the Churches Sub-Officers *circa ſacra & non in ſacris*: But ſure thoſe of them who *are* introduced on a *miſtaken* conceit of *Divine right*, and do no more than the Paſtors do, are no Uſurpers of *Coercive* power.

You ſee by the late Acts of King and Parliament in *Scotland*, that all *External Church power* is declared to be in the King: And what would you have more? No doubt the meaning is not, *All power about external things*: For the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lords Supper, and the perſons baptized, *&c.* are external objects: Nor can it be all power that is exerciſed by the external parts of the body. For the Tongue of the Preacher, and the Hand of the Baptizer, as well as the Ear of the Hearer is an *external part*. But in theſe two ſenſes it is true, and commonly conſented to, by all that I remember of my acquaintance that are Chriſtians. 1. That all the power of the *Sword*, or of forcing by Mulcts or bodily puniſhments, as diſtinct from the power of the Word, that worketh directly upon the ſoul alone (by the ſenſes) is in the King, and not in any of the Clergy, though it be about the matters of Religion. 2. And that all power in Church matters and Religion, *Extrinſecal to the Paſtoral Office* as inſtituted by Chriſt, is of right the Kings, and his inferiour Magiſtrates. And what would you or any man have more?

4. And as to the exerciſe of our Office, we all confeſs (except the Papiſts) that we are reſponſible to the King and Magiſtrates, for our faults, yea, for our injurious maladminiſtration. And that though the King be not the Chief Paſtor, nor hath the power of the Keys which Chriſt gave to his Miniſters, yet he is the Ruler of all Churches and Paſtors by the Sword, as well as of all Phyſicions. And is not all this enough to ſatisfie you, that we claim no part of the Magiſtrates Office?

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As you say, our power is but *Persuasive*. It is but, *By the Word*; It is but on the *Conscience*; It is under the Magistrates coercive Government: And so it is like a Physicions or a Tutors in a Colledge. But that I pray you leave not out 1. That it is not under the Magistrates, as to the *derivation of the office or power*, that is, *It is no office which the Magistrate made or may unmake*: 2. That it is as immediately of Divine Institution as the Magistrates. And therefore in your similitude you must suppose your Physicion and Tutor to have a Commission from God. 3. That God hath *described our office, and limited the Magistrates office*, so that he hath no power from God to *hinder the Ministry*. 4. But if he do it injuriously we must not resist, but patiently suffer for obeying God. So much of the nature of the office.

II. Now that it is certain that God hath committed to Pastors, such a Government of his Church by the Word, as to stated commissioned Officers, because I have past by the proofs in my following Propositions, I will add some here. Supposing what Dr. *Hammond* hath said of the Power of the Keyes, and that no man with common sense can take the Power of the Keyes, for any thing less than a power of Church Government, or Authoritative Guidance, and so a Power of receiving in and putting out as there is cause; It is plain in that Christ first reciteth his own Commission and Power, *Matth.* 28. 18, 19, 20. and thence dateth the Commission of his Apostles, as it was to endure to the end of the age or world.

See *Isa* 22. 22. & *Rev.* 3. 7. & 1. 18. compared with *Matth.* 16. 19. & *John* 20. 23. The word *Presbyter* and Bishop can signifie no less: as *Acts* 4. 8, *&c.* compared with *Acts* 14. 23. & 15. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23. & 16. 4. & 20. 17, 28. *Titus* 1. 5. *James* 5. 14. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. *Rev.* 4. 4, *&c.* And nothing less can be meant by 1 Tim. 5. 17. *The Elders that Rule well are worthy of double honour, &c.* Heb. 13. 17. 24. *Obey them that have the Rule over you, for they watch, &c.* 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13. *Know them that labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you,* 1 Tim. 3. 1, 4, 5. *If a man desire the office of a Bish p, he desireth*

a good work———*One that Ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection.*———*For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God.* So *Tit.* 1. 7, *&c.* 1 *Pet.* 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. Many other I pass by.

And for the act of *excommunication*, or *excluding* unmeet persons from *Christian Church Communion*, it would be tedious to stand to *vindicate* all those plain Texts from any mens exceptions, 1 *Cor.* 5. *per totum. Titus* 3. 10. 2 *John* 10, 11. 2 *Thess.* 3. 6, 14. *Rev.* 2. 14, 15, 20.

But while I am writing this, I remember that I have long ago written a small Book called *Universal Concord*, in which I have described all the *Pastoral Office* and *Work*: If you can prove it less than I have there named in any one point, you will so far ease us, and take nothing from us at all that gratifieth our flesh: If you can deny none of that, we are agreed. And in the Preface to the same Book I have given you twelve Reasons of the great use of Church Discipline; which shall save me the labour of the third point which I intended next to speak to; save only that I will briefly ask you,

III. Would you have any difference made between the Christian Church and the Pagan and Infidel world? If not ———If you would, it must be such a difference as Christ hath appointed us to make? And doth our Baptismal Covenant contain no promise and profession of godliness and obedience, as well as of Belief; and so of Repentance and a better life?

2. Who would you have to be Judge in this matter? Shall every one be Judge himself? Then all Pagans, Murderers, Blasphemers may come in and turn Religion and the Church into a scorn. If *any* must *judge*, you would not sure set the *Magistrates* or *people* such a task (on pain of damnation) to leave their Calling, to try and judge of the qualifications of expectants or Church-members.

3. Whom do you think *Christ* committed this business to? Who were the Judges of the Capacity of persons to be baptized, or the desert of persons to be rejected? *Diotrophes* could not have rejected Christians injuriously, if he had not

not then had some Governing power.

4. Hath not all Christs Church exercised such a Discipline as I have described since the Apostles days till now? (saving the corruption of it by ill additions, or carnal neglects) And hath all this Church been from the beginning under a false Government in the main? Or is not *Reformation* a righter way than *extirpation*, of *Discipline* as well as of *Doctrine and Worship?*

5. Is it not *the wickedness* of *Christians* that is the chief hardening of *Turks* and other Infidels against Christianity? And would they not encrease this pollution that would have the most vicious to be equally received with the best?

6. Is not *Faith* for *Holiness*, and did not Christ come to purifie a peculiar people, and restore us to the Image of God? And if for want of Discipline Saints and Swine be equally Church-members, and partakers of holy things, is that agreeable to this design of our Redeemer?

7. If Oeconomical Government and School Government and Colledge Government be no wrong to Kings, neither is the Church Government which Christ hath instituted.

I do not say all this to intimate that *you say the contrary*. But because your Charge on *Luther*, *Calvin* and other Protestants sheweth that you do sure mistake them: And to tell you that I joyn with you in disowning the KINGDOM and Magistracy of the Mock-Church of *Rome*; and of all that will imitate them; But that I take the *Enmity to* and *grosse neglect of true Church-Discipline*, to be one of Satans principal services that is done him upon earth, against true Godliness.

The Churches and the Magistrates Power stated in matters of Religion; In an hundred Propositions, which almost all sober Protestant Teachers are agreed in.

A Reconciliation of the sober Episcopal, Presbyterians, Independents and Erastians.

To my very Learned, sincere and worthy Friend Ludovicus Molinæus *Dr. of Physick (The Author of many Treatises on this subject.)*

Dear Sir,

UPON the perusal of your Writings which you sent me, the love of the *Church*, and of *Truth* and *Peace* and *you*, doth command me to tell you as followeth;

1. That I make no question, but that the Pride of the Clergy (with their Covetousness) hath for above twelve hundred years been a greater plague to the Churches throughout the Christian world, than all the cruelties of the Laity: And that the senseless forgetting the *matter* and *manner* of Christs decision of his Apostles Controversie, *Which of them should be the greatest*, hath divided the East and West, and corrupted and kept down Religion; whilest that the lives of the Prelates have perswaded the observers, that they still took it for a more

more important Queſtion, *Which of them ſhould be the greateſt?* than, *Whether they or their people ſhould be ſaved.* And it hath ever been a matter of eaſie remarque, that there have been ſeldom any dangerous *Schiſms* on one ſide, or any cruel *Perſecutions* on the other ſide, which the Clergy have not been the principal cauſes of: And that the Laity would be more quiet, if the Clergy did not delude them, or exaſperate them; And that even the more miſtaken and violent ſort of Magiſtrates, would have ſome moderation in their Perſecutions, if the Clergy did not make them believe, that a burning killing Zeal is the mark of a good Chriſtian, and is the ſame that in *Tit.* 2. 14. is called a *zeal of good works*; and that to deſtroy the bodies of men truly fearing God, is the way to ſave their own ſouls, or their Dominions at leaſt; when indeed, the zeal of Chriſts commanding, is a *zealous Love to one another*, and a *zealous doing good to others*, and the *Deviliſh zeal* (as St. *James* diſtinguiſheth it, *James* 2. 15, 16, 17.) is an envious, hating, hurting zeal.

2. That in all this the Laity are not innocent, but muſt thank themſelves for the evil that befalleth them; and that on two notable accounts: 1. Becauſe *they* have ordinarily the *chooſing* of the *dignified* and *beneficed* Churchmen, and they have but ſuch as they chooſe themſelves: They think it is their *wiſdom* as well as *piety*, to make the *Honour and Profit* ſo *great*, as ſhall be a *very ſtrong bait* to *Pride* and *Covetouſneſs*: And when they have ſo done, the *Proudeſt* and moſt *Covetous* will certainly be the *Seekers*; and that with as much craft and diligence, as an ambitious mind can uſe their parts to: And he that *ſeeketh* (by himſelf and friends) is likeſt to find: And the more humble and heavenly any one is, and conſequently moſt honeſt, and fit to be a Paſtor of the Church, the further he will be from the *Seekers* way! So that except it be where the world hath Rulers ſo wiſe and ſtrangely pious, as to ſeek out the worthy who ſeek not for themſelves, its eaſie to prognoſticate what kind of Paſtors the Church will have: And verily they that chooſe them, are the unfitteſt to complain of them. Whereas if the Churches *maintenance* were ſuch,

as might but *prevent the discouragements* of such as seek the Ministry for the *works sake* and for the *love of souls*, that so Students might not make it a Trade for wealth, but a *self-denying dedication* of themselves to God, the Churches would be accordingly provided; And they that *intend the saving of souls*, would be the Candidates, (by their own and their Parents dedication) as now they that *intend a Trade to live and serve the flesh by* (in an *honourable* way) are too great a part of them. Or men might be *further rewarded ex post facto* for their *Merits*, without being tempted to *study principally* for that reward. And if we will needs *have carnal men*, let us not wonder if they *live carnally*. And if the *carnal mind be enmity to God, and neither is nor can be subject to his Law*, Rom. 8. 6, 7. we may easily prognosticate how *Christs enemies* will do *his work*, and guide his Church, and whether *their wills and wayes* will be such as the conscionable can conform to.

3. And the Laity are unexcusable, because it is they (in all those Countreys where *Popery* and *Church-tyranny* prevaileth) who put their Sword into the Clergies hands, and give away their own authority, and set up men to vie with them, and to overtop them: of which more anon.

3. I grant you also, that in all such Countreys as aforesaid (where *Popery* and *Church-tyranny* prevaileth) the name of *Ecclesiastical Courts and Discipline*, is applyed to that mungrel power, which is neither Fish nor Flesh; and that the true *Spiritual Power* set up by Christ, is corrupted and turned into a secular thing, or by confusion, a third sort arisen out of both. And that Popish Princes are wofully abused by this deceit: while that the reverence of the name of the *Church* and *Church-Government*, doth perswade them to ruine the Church indeed, and to set up their Subjects to be the Governours of themselves, and to give away their own power to their servants, and then to stoop to the power which they have given.

4. And I grant you, that all this mischief would much be cured, if Magistrates would keep the Sword to themselves, and use it only according to the judgement of their proper Courts; and would leave the Power of the Church

Keyes

Keyes to the Paſtors, *& valeant quantum valere poſſunt*, and let it be thought penalty enough for an excommunicate perſon *qua talis* to be excommunicate: And not to take him to be a penitent, or worthy of the Communion of the Church, that had rather be there than in a Gaol. There be wiſer wayes of bringing men to Repentance and to the Communion of the Church, than by ſaying [Chooſe this or the Goal: You are worthy to be in the Church, if you had but rather be in it than in a Priſon.] Chriſt ſaid, [*Forſake all, or ye cannot be my Diſciples*;] And ſome ſay, [Be Chriſts Diſciples, or forſake all: The Church will receive you, if you will but accept her communion rather than impriſonment or beggary.] A kind Church indeed! of which more anon.

5. But notwithſtanding all theſe conceſſions, I muſt further tell you, that it is the Paſtors of the Churches that muſt keep up the intereſt of Chriſtianity in the world; and that as the bad ones are the greateſt plagues, ſo the good ones are the greateſt bleſſings of the earth; even the ſalt and lights of the world: And none but the enemies of Chriſt are their enemies, (as ſuch.) And as the Miniſtry hath grown better or worſe, ſo hath Chriſtianity either riſen or fallen, in all times and places of the Church on earth. (Of which ſee Two Sheets which I have written for the Miniſtery, againſt the *Seekers* and *Malignants* long ago.)

6. And though the Carnal Clergy afore deſcribed, deſerve all the invectives in your Books, and their Uſurpations, and turning Church Diſcipline into a ſecular thing, do call aloud for a juſt detection and rebuke, and it would be the happineſs of the world, if the eyes of all Chriſtian Princes and Rulers, were opened in this point; yet I muſt tell you, that I believe moſt ſober, pious Proteſtant Divines are really agreed in the main things that you deſire and intend; And that both *you* and ſome of *your adverſaries both do amiſs*, to make the difference *ſeem wider* than indeed it is: And that making *Verbal* differences ſeem *real*, and *ſmall* ones ſeem *great*, is an ill employment; when a *few diſtinctions* and *clearer explications*, would make both ſides

ſides ſee, that they are *almoſt of one mind.*

Therefore all that I ſhall do in this buſineſs is, to lay down my own judgement, and I think the judgement of all the pious and ſober part, of the *Epiſcopal*, *Presbyterian*, *Independents* and *Erastians* (or *Politicians*) in certain brief Propoſitions, which ſhall carry their own evidence paſt all contradiction of Learned and Conſiderate Chriſtians.

Prop. 1. THe work of the Goſpel-Miniſtry is not a work of *meer Charity* and *Liberty*, but an *Office-work*: *Authority*, *Reaſon* and *Love*, are its principles, *Matth.* 28. 19, 20. *Titus* 1. 5. *Acts* 14. 23.

2. This Office is *inſtituted* by *Chriſt* himſelf, and by the Holy Ghoſt, *Ibid. Acts* 20. 28, *&c.*

3 It was inſtituted for *great* and *neceſſary ends*, that the Miniſtry might be *Chriſts Agents*, *Meſſengers*, *Stewards*, *&c.* for the furthering the affairs of his Spiritual Kingdom, and mens ſalvation in the world, 1 *Cor.* 4. 1, 2. 1 *Tim.* 3. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* *Acts* 20. 28. 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 12, 13. *Heb.* 13. 17.

4. It was firſt put into the hands of *Apoſtles* choſen by Chriſt himſelf; who were to be the Gatherers, Editiers and Guides of his Church, and to be its foundation built on Chriſt, and the tranſmitters of the Goſpel, and a ſtated Miniſtry to the following Ages.

5. Though the *extraordinary* part of their work ceaſed with them, the *ordinary* part continueth after them, with a Miniſtry, which is to continue to the end of the world *Eph.* 4. 11, *&c.*

6. This *Office* was in time *before* a *Chriſtian Magiſtrate*, and muſt be the *ſame* where there is *any ſuch*, and where there is *none*, *Matth.* 28. 20. *Eph.* 4. 12, 14, 16, *&c.*

7. It conſiſteth in an *Authority* conjunct with an *Obligation* to do their proper work.

8. This Miniſterial Office is ſubordinate to Chriſt in the three parts of his Office, Prophetical, Prieſtly, Kingly (as they are commonly diſtinguiſhed) or, in *Teaching*, *Worſhipping God*, and *Governing* his flocks, *John* 20. 21. *Matth.* 28 19, 20. 1 *Cor.* 4. 1, 2. 1 *Tim.* 3. 2, 3, &c. & 5. 17. *Acts* 6. 4.

9. It

9. It is essential to the Office to have all these in *Divine Authority*, but not in *Exercise*, nor in the *Civil Liberty* of exercising them (which may be hindered) *Acts* 5. 18,&c.

10. The Office is to be judged of by *Gods Institution*, and not by the *Ordainers wills* intention, or contrary expressions; if the *essence* of the Office be delivered in general words.

11. Christ made these Officers the *Key-bearers* of his Churches, that is, the Rulers or Guides, who have authority under him over Church communion, to judge what members shall be taken in, and who shall be put out, *Mat.16.19. Heb.* 13. 17, 24. 1 *Thess.* 5. 12, 13.

12. The first and great act of this Key-bearing power (never denyed them from Christs time to this day) is the power of *Baptizing* and of *judging who* shall be admitted by Baptism into the Church or number of visible Christians, *Mat.* 28. 19, 20. *Acts* 2. 41. & 8. 12, 13, 38.

13. This power is not *arbitrary* but *Ministerial*, regulated by Christs universal Laws; which describeth every mans Title to admittance; which is [*his own* (or *Parents* if an Infants) *understanding*, *voluntary*, *serious Profession of Consent to the Baptismal Covenant.*] *Acts* 2. 38. & 8. 12. & 10. 47, 48. *Mar.* 16. 16. *Matth.* 28. 20.

14. If one Minister refuse such Consenters, others must admit him: And if many should agree utterly to tyrannize, both Magistrates by just Laws may correct them, and the people desert them, for better Guides: 1 *Kings* 2. 27. 2 *John* 10, 11. *Mat.* 7. 15. & 16. 6.

15. The Churches *Communion* and *Sacraments* are not to be *common to all the world.* Otherwise the *Church* were *no Church*, as consisting of Heathens, Infidels and all, that would come even purposely to pollute and scorn the holy Mysteries, 1 *Cor.* 10. 16. 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. *Acts* 2. 47, &c.

16. It is necessary therefore that *some men* be the Judges who *are fit*, and who shall be admitted. Else there can be no difference. Of this see my Treatise of Confirmation.

17. Every man is not to be the sole publick Judge for *himself*: For then there would be still no difference, nor the Mysteries kept from common scorns.

18. The *Magistrate* is not made the *first* and *proper* Judge: For then he must make a *Calling* of it, and attend upon this very thing, to try the *baptized* and the *admitted*; which is no small work. For he that judgeth, must first *try* the Case, and that with the diligence which the weight of it requireth, *Acts* 8. 37.

19. The *People* are not to be the ordinary Judges: for else they must all leave their Callings to attend baptizings, and such works as these; and must do that which most of them are unfit to do: And Christ hath put all out of doubt, by putting the Keys into the Pastors hands, and commanding their study and attending to this work, and calling them the Rulers, Guides, Pastors, Fathers, Stewards, Overseers, *&c.* and commanding the people to obey them with submission; and telling (not the people or Magistrates) but the Pastors of the great and dreadful account that they must give, *Heb.* 13. 17. *Matth.* 24. 45, 46, 47. 1 *Cor.* 4. 1, 2. 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. *&* 1 *Tim.* 4. 15, 16.

20. He that will lay this work upon people or Magistrates, is their cruel enemy; and brings on them a most heavy burden, and consequently makes it their duty to *prepare* and *study for it*, and to avoid all *other business* that hindereth it; and would lay them under the terrors of a most tremendous reckoning unto God.

21. Seeing it is a trust that *must* be committed to *some* or *other*, common reason tells us, that it is better in their hands that Christ hath put it in by Office, and who spend their lives in preparation for it, than in theirs that neither have the preparations nor the Office, 1 *Cor.* 9. 16. *&* 2 *Cor.* 5. 19, 20. 1 *Cor.* 4. 1, 2.

22. It is the great end of Christs coming into the world to destroy the works of the Devil, and to purifie to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works, and to save his people from their sins, and to vindicate the Holiness of God: And the world is so apt to judge of Christs doctrine by his followers, that the Holiness and Concord of Christians is one of Christs great appointed means, for his own and his Fathers glory in the world: That as Gods *greatness* shineth forth in the frame of *nature*, so might his *Holiness* in the *Church*:

Church: And the Enemies of *Holineſs* are condemned by their *Creed*, when they profeſs to believe the *Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints.* And *Rome* it ſelf doth own the name and pretence of Holineſs.

23. Travellers well know, that the great hinderance of the Converſion of Infidels and Heathens, Turks, Perſians, Indians, Tartarians, *&c.* is the wicked lives of the profeſſed Chriſtians that are next them; when they ſee that Chriſtians are more falſe, and cruel, and drunken, and beaſtly, and divided, *&c.* than themſelves.

24. Thoſe therefore that would have the Church lye common (without Chriſts Diſcipline) to all the moſt prophane and wicked that will come in, and have communion with it, are indeed Antichriſtian, even open enemies to the Church, to holineſs, and to the ſaving of the Infidel and Heathen world, 1 *Cor.* 5. 6, 11, 12, 13. 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. *Tit.* 2. 14.

25. The Devil hath fought in all Ages as ſubtilly and diligently againſt the holy Diſcipline of Chriſt, as againſt the Chriſtian Doctrine.

26. True Diſcipline doth ſo wonderfully diſpleaſe the guilty, and loſe mens love, and eſpecially the Richer ſort, and all mens carnal intereſt and nature inclineth them ſo much to man-pleaſing and flattery, that Miniſters have abundance more need to be *driven* to the exerciſe of Diſcipline, than *reſtrained* from it; except it be the corrupt and carnal Diſcipline which the Popiſh and tyrannizing Clergy do exerciſe, where the Magiſtrate himſelf upholdeth them in Grandure, and lendeth them his Sword. Let Diſcipline be but ſuch as Chriſt appointed, and ſtand of it ſelf, and then it is but few that will have any more cauſe, to be reſtrained from it, than from too much preaching: Though ſtill I yield, that there muſt be limits for the wilful and the indiſcreet, 1 *Cor.* 5. 3 *John* 9.

27. The true Diſcipline of Chriſt hath been acknowledged to be his Ordinance, in all the Churches almoſt in the world, ſince the Apoſtles dayes till now; ſave that (as you open it) ſince *Conſtantines* time it hath been much corrupted by the mixture of the ſecular force, and the Em-

perours lending his Church-power to the Bishops and Councils.

28. Government hath two parts : *Antecedent* to *mens facts*, which is *Legislation* ; and *Consequent*, which is *Judgement* and *Execution*. Christ is the *only Lawgiver of Universal Laws to the universal Church* ; and the Author of his own Doctrine, and the substantials of his Worship : But yet there are many undetermined circumstances, which may and must be antecedently determined, some by *each Pastor* ; some by a consent of Pastors, and some by *Magistrates* (if they please). I will name you twenty lately named elsewhere ; 1. *What day* (besides the Lords day) and what hour, the Church shall meet. 2. How *long* the Prayers, Reading and Sermons shall be. 3. When and how often publick Fasts and Thanksgivings be. 4. What place the Church shall meet in. 5. Of the Form, Ornaments, Seats, *&c.* of the Temples. 6. The place and form of the Pulpit. 7. The *subject* of the present Sermon, and the Chapter to be read. 8. The *Method* of the Sermon. 9. The *Words* of Sermons and Prayers. 10. Of using, or not using *Books* and Sermon *Notes* for *memory*. 11. What *Translation* of Scripture to use. 12. And what *Version* and *Meeter* of the Psalms. 13. And what *Tune* to sing in. 14. What form of *Catechism* to use. 15. Of decent Habits, especially in publick Worship. 16. By what *professing sign* to testifie our *consent* to the Churches Confession of faith : Whether by *speaking*, or *lifting up* the hand, or *standing up*. 17. Of decent Gestures in the acts of publick Worship. 18. Of Font, Table, Cups, Cloathes, and other Utensils. 19. Making *new Officers* for these actions *circa sacra*, as Door-keepers, Clarks, Churchwardens, *&c.* 20. Judging *when* any *private man* shall *speak* in the Church, and *when* he shall be *silent*, and such other Orders necessary to peace and Edification, 1 *Cor.* 14. 28, 29. 33. 26, 40.

29. *Most* of these should be left to every Pastors judgement ; *some* may be determined by the *Magistrate* ; but yet *some* are fittest for the *Concordant* determination of *Consociated Churches*, in a Synod, or by consent. But *none* of them by any neighbour Pastor (that like the Pope) usurpeth

eth authority over other Churches. Nor should any *standing Laws at all*, be made of such things where there is *no need*; especially where the case is *mutable*, and it belongeth to the Pastors function to determine it, as occasion serveth. 2 *Tim.* 2. 15. *Mat.* 24. 45.

30. Whether these *Antecedent Determinations* of *Concordant Pastors* in a Synod, shall be called *Laws*, or *Canons*, or *Decrees*, is but *lis de nomine*: And also whether this power be called *Legislative*, or *Jurisdiction*. And who will trouble the Church unnecessarily about *words and names?* But yet I think they may be best called *Canons* or *Agreements*: And I wish that high Titles be laid aside, lest it encourage the usurping Spirit, that aspireth after too high things.

31. *Grotius de Imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra* hath said so much and so well of all this Controversie, that it is a shame to us all that we need any more, and a shame to me to trouble the world after him, with Writings on that subject, so far less useful; and to any one, to cloud that which he hath clearly and judiciously stated; were it not that renewed occasions require it.

32. Pastors have not only the charge of right ordering the *Assemblies*, but also of helping and overseeing all the *individuals* of their charge; And to help them in the *personal application* of the Scriptures to themselves, and to resolve their particular Doubts and Cases of Conscience; and to reprove, admonish and comfort the individuals as there is need. As a Physicion is not only to read a Physick Lecture to his Hospital, but to Govern each Patient in order to his Cure.

33. Ordination is *& rei & ordinis gratia* an act of Office, by which the Ministerial Office and Power is Ministerially delivered by way of Investiture and Solemnization, as a house is delivered by a Key, and a parcel of Land by a Turf and Twig, by the hand of a Servant appointed thereunto. Or as our Church state is delivered to us by Baptism by the like investiture. Though yet it is *God directly*, who *giveth* the Power, and that secondarily by his servant thus *investeth* us in it; though not without the previous Call which is necessary thereunto.

34. Ordination is not an *idle Ceremony* which the Ordainer must perform upon the *judgement of others* (Prince or people) without his own cognizance of the person, or against his Conscience: But *he* that must *ordain*, must *first judge* the person fit to be ordained; and therefore must also try his fitness, 1 *Tim.* 5. 22.

35. So much of the *Antecedent* power of the Ministry; in which it is to be noted, that *Ordination* and *Baptism* are *efficient acts*, like Generation in nature, under God the *first efficient*, as *ex Quo omnia*, and as they are *ordinis gratia*, are the beginning of Government also. And *Government* is an *Ordering* act, as under God the *supream Governour*, *ut per Quem omnia*. And *Sacramental entertainment* with Christs body and blood in Church Communion, is *Actus Amoris*, a *final* act, of friendship, under God as the *final* Cause, *ad Quem omnia*.

36. The subsequent part of the Pastoral Government, is by using the members of the Church in the exercise of the Pastoral Office, according to their several deserts: which is by a General, and particular application of the Word of God to their Consciences, and guiding them in circumstances, and judging of actions and persons according to that Word, in order to the good of souls, and the preservation of the Church and truth, *Acts* 20. 28. *Heb.* 13. 17.

37. When the *whole Church* falleth into notorious sin, the Pastors must reprove them, and call them to repentance: And if they apostatize forsake them, as ceasing to be a Church.

38. When a *single member* falleth into *notorious scandal*, the Pastor must admonish him, and call him to repentance: and if he remain impenitent and obstinate after due admonition, and publick exhortation and patience, he must [as Christs Steward of his Word and Family, pronounce him a person unfit for Church communion, and require or command him in the name of Christ to forbear it, and the Church to forbear his communion, declaring him also unpardoned by Christ till he repent, and binding him over to his judgement.] So that Excommunication is a Sentence of the person as uncapable of Church communion according

according to Christs Laws, and a fore-judging him as unpardoned and condemnable by Christs judgement, unless he repent, and a command to the sinner to forbear the communion and priviledges of the Church, and to the Church to avoid him, 1 *Cor.* 5. *Titus* 3. 10, *&c.*

39. If the sinner *repent*, the Pastor is *Christs Officer*, in *his name* to pronounce him pardoned, if his repentance be sincere; and the Guide of the Church to require them to receive him again into their communion, 2 *Cor.* 2. 7, 10, 11. *Gal.* 6 1, 2, 3.

40. Because Magistrates and people (as aforesaid) cannot attend so great a work as this, without the neglect of their particular Callings, and are not to be supposed so fit as the Pastor, and because God hath made it the work of his Office, the people are to rest in his judgement about the fitness and Title of those that have the publick Church communion with them, (though they are the Judges and Choosers of their Domestick and private familiars :) And they must not separate from them that are thus regularly admitted.

41. Yet when the Pastors by mal-administration, give them just cause, the flock may seek their due remedy: of which more anon.

42. This *power* is *essentially* in the *Ministerial Office*; and therefore is in *every single Pastor*, and not only in *some few*, or in the *abler sort*, or only in a *Synod*, Mat. 16. 19.

43. When a Church hath but *one Pastor* he must exercise it *alone* (with due consideration and advice.) But when a Church hath *many Pastors*, they must exercise it (and all Church guidance) in a way of *Concord*, and avoid all dissentions among themselves, *Ephes.* 4. 3, 4, 5. 1 *Cor.* 1. 10. *John* 17. 21, 22.

44. Therefore in such a case a particular Pastor may be obliged oft to suspend some such acts, because the Major Vote of his Syn-Presbyters are against it; Not that they are his Governours for the Majority of Vote, but because the Laws of Concord require the Minor part to submit to the Major.

45. The same is the reason why in Elections, Consents

and

and other acts belonging to the flock, the Major Vote ſhould carry it in things lawful; not becauſe the people have any true *Church Government*; but becauſe they are obliged to *Unity and Concord*; And in that caſe, the Law of Nature calleth the Minor part to ſubmit to the Major, leſt there never ſhould be any Concord had.

46. And the ſame is the reaſon why in Synods and Councils, the Major Vote of the Biſhops muſt prevail, in lawful things not forbidden of God.

47. If any Paſtor in the world pragmatically thruſt himſelf into another mans charge, and pretend himſelf to be the Ruler of his neighbour Churches and Paſtors, and attempt to exerciſe authority over them, he is to be ſlighted as an Uſurper, and a diſturber of the order and peace of the Churches of Chriſt, 3 *John* 9, 10.

48. Yet every Paſtor is an Officer and Miniſter of Chriſt (as to the unconverted *world* to *call* them, ſo) to the *univerſal Church* to exerciſe his Office in it where ever he hath an *orderly call*! And if he *teach*, or adminiſter *Sacraments* or *Diſcipline*, upon ſuch a *particular call*, in a neighbour Church *pro tempore*, he doth it as an *Officer* of Chriſt (and *their Paſtor pro tempore*) and not as a *Lay-man*: As a licenſed Phyſician medicateth another Phyſicion, or anothers Hoſpital, when called to it, not only as a neighbour that is unlicenſed, but as a licenſed Phyſicion. So *Timothy*, *Apollo*, *Silas*, and others did.

49. Therefore neighbour Paſtors muſt have ſo much care of other Churches as to admoniſh them againſt the infection of any Hereſie or Scandal, which they ſee them in apparent danger of; whether by heretical wicked Paſtors, or others.

50 All neighbour Churches capable of correſpondence, are bound to hold a ſpecial *concord among themſelves*, for the advantage of the Goſpel by their Unity, or for the converſion of the Infidel world, and for the preſervation of the ſeveral Churches from danger, by Hereſie or diſcord, *Acts* 15. *John* 17. 21, 22. *Eph.* 4. 3, 6.

51. He that is *excommunicated* juſtly in one Church ſhould not be received by the reſt till he repent: Therefore the neighbour Churches may do well, to acquaint each other

whom

whom they have excommunicated, when there is cauſe.

52. This correſpondence is to be kept by *Meſſengers*, *Letters*, or *Synods*.

53. Whether ſuch Synods be *ſtated*, or *occaſional*, and whether the Preſident ſhall be ſtill the *ſame* or *changed*, with ſuch other circumſtances, are things not determined in Scripture, but left to the determination of humane prudence, as the caſe ſhall require, for the end intended.

54. Though the Major part in theſe Synods, be not the proper Governours of the Minor, yet the Paſtors there aſſembled are ſtill the *Governours* of the *flocks*, and they are alſo bound to Concord in things lawful among themſelves. Therefore their Decrees about ſuch things, are *Obligatory* to the *People ratione authoritatis*, and they are obligatory to one another (I mean the *Paſtors*) *ratione concordiæ*: And this is the true ſtate of the binding power of Synods.

55. Though the uſual phraſe of [*binding the Conſcience*] be unapt, (Conſcience being an act of *ſcience*; and it is not to *know* that by the obligation now in queſtion we are bound to primarily) yet as to the *ſenſe* intended, it is certain, that the Commands of Parents, Magiſtrates and Paſtors, in their proper places, do all truly bind the *ſoul*, or *will*, or *man*, or as they ſay, the *Conſcience*; But it is only by a *ſecondary obligation*, from a *derived power*; as *God* bindeth it by a *primary obligation* by the *primitive power*. He that hath *no power* of *obliging*, hath no power of *Governing*. And he that obligeth not the *ſoul* and *will*, obligeth not the man at all, by any Moral obligation: The body alone or immediately is bound by Cords and Chains, but not by Commands and Laws: He that may not bind the ſoul by a Command, hath no commanding authority, *Col.* 3. 20, 22. *Eph.* 6. 1. *Tit.* 3. 1. *Heb.* 13 17, 24. & 11. 8.

56. Therefore the diſtinction of *Internal and External* Government, and of the *forum interius & exterius*, needeth better explication, than is uſed by moſt; or elſe it will be worſe than uſeleſs. The true difference of the Government Civil and Eccleſiaſtical is to be fetcht, *ab objecto*, & *fine proximo & modo regendi*. But as it meaneth that which

is Intrinsecal or Extrinsecal to the Pastoral Office, it is of great use. And as it differenceth Government by the Sword, from that which worketh only on the mind.

57. The same God who instituted the Office of the Magistrate, did also immediately institute the Office of the Ministry: And therefore as to the Foundation they are coordinate; and neither of them derived from the possessors of the other.

58 As to the Work and End, the Magistrates work and the Ministers have each a preheminency in their own kinds.

59. Magistrates, Ministers and Parents may all command the same thing, and all their Commands be obligatory; As to learn a Catechisme, to observe the Lords Day, &c.

60. It is not lawful for Pastors to *Excommunicate either Kings*, or their *chief Magistrates*, or their *own Parents* (unless perhaps in some rare case) by any publick formal or dishonouring Excommunication. Because the great Command in Nature [*Honour thy Father and Mother*; *Honour the King*] lyeth lower than the positive Command of Excommunication; and is antecedent to it: And as *affirmatives bind not semper & ad semper*, so also they *give place* to *Natural Laws*, and not *Naturals* (ordinarily) to them. And the *Rulers Honour* is of more publick use and necessity, than *excommunication* in that particular act is. But an *Usurping* Tyrant, who may be *deposed*, and *dishonoured*, may be *excommunicated*.

61. Much less may a strange Pastor, to whom the Magistrate never committed the care of his soul, presume to excommunicate him who is none of his charge: And therefore the Pope and his Prelates excommunicating Kings and Rulers, seemeth to me, to be nothing but a proclaiming open Hostility against them.

62. Pastors have no Power over any but *Consenters*: Nor can they use the Sword, or have any *Coactive* power at all; that is, any power to touch a mans *body* or *estate*: but only to work upon his Conscience, and his Church-reputation. The forcing power belongeth only to Parents, and Magi-

Magistrates, and not to Ministers as such at all, *Luke* 22. 25, 26, 27. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. 2 *Cor.* 10. 4.

63. The similitude of a *Physicions power*, (if you will but suppose him to have a *Hospital of Volunteers*, and his office to be of *Divine institution*); or of a Philosophers or Tutors (on the *like supposition*) over adult Disciples, may much explicate the Church power. No wise Physicion will take any into his Hospital and Cure, upon unsafe destructive terms, which the *Patient* or *Magistrate* shall impose; but will say, [It is my function to Rule you, as to *Medicine* for your *Cure*; Take what I give you, and use your self upon it as I advise you, or else take your course; you are no Patient for me; nor shall be in my Hospital: I will not strike you, nor fine and imprison you; but I will be *none of your Physicion*, (or saith the Tutor, I will be none of your Teacher) nor shall you be any part of my Hospital, (School) or charge.] Only still remember here the *Divine institution* of the *Ministry* and *Discipline*, and the regulation of it by Gods Laws, that it be not arbitrarily used.

64. The undoing of the Church of Christ (in those Countreys where Popery and Church-tyranny prevail) hath long been by the Magistrates annexing their executions to the sentence of the Church (as it is called) and becoming the meer *Executioners* of the judgement of other men. No Magistrate should be debased, so as to be made the Churches Executioner. If the Magistrate will punish a man, it must not be meerly *quatenus excommunicate*, that is, as punished already; but for the *fault* for which he was excommunicate. And if so, then he must *try and judge* him for that fault at his own barr, and not punish him unheard; because the Church hath sentenced him: And if Rulers would more leave the Church to the exercise of its proper power, and let excommunication do what it can of it self, (unless the nature of the crime require a distinct Secular judgement and punishment) it would do much to heal all the divisions and perturbations in the Christian world. For which course I have these Reasons following to urge.

1. It is a great contempt and reproach to Christs institution of discipline, to tell the world, that it is a powerless uneffectual thing of it self, unless the Secular Sword do enforce it. Such Pastors vilifie their own power also, which is so useless.

2. It is a *corrupting of Christs discipline*, and *destroying the use* of it: For it cannot be known now, what the Keyes do of themselves, when the Sword goeth with them: No man knoweth when Repentance professed is credibly real and moved by divine Motives; and when it is dissembled for avoiding of the Secular punishment.

3. It must leave the Pastors conscience unsatisfied in his administrations; and bind him to abuse Christ; when he must say to men, [If you had but rather say that you repent, than lye in a Gaol, I absolve you, and give you the Sacraments, and pronounce you pardoned by Christ.] Who can administer on these terms?

4. It is a dangerous deluding of the sinners soul, that seemeth intimated by this way.

5. It is a wilful *corrupting* and *confounding of the Church*; when men shall be *forced* to be *its members*, though they be *Infidels*, *Heathens*, or most impious, if they had but rather *say* they are Christians than lye in Gaol. And by this means it is, that no man can know, who are *really* of the *Church of Rome*, or of any tyrannical Church, but only who had rather *say* they are of the Church, than be undone: which any Infidel and Atheist will soon do. Therefore let not *Rome* boast of the number of her members which are unknown.

6. It is a changing of *Christs terms* of *Covenant*, *Christianity*, *Communion* and *Absolution*: when Christ saith, [*He that from his heart believeth and repenteth, and forsaketh the flesh and the world for me, shall be my Disciple and be pardoned; and he that credibly professeth thus much, shall be taken into the Church* (which are truly Christs terms) now cometh the Church-tyrant and saith [*He that will say, that he believeth and repenteth rather than he will forsake the flesh and the world, and will choose the Church before a Gaol, shall be pardoned, and have communion with the Church,*

Church, or at leaſt have the ſeals of pardon to delude him.

7. By this means the Church is moſtly conſtituted, in ſuch Countreys, of the groſſeſt wicked hypocrites: And it is made a ſcorn to Infidels and Heathens, and their converſion hindered thereby, when they ſee that Chriſtians are worſe than they.

8. And by this means theſe hypocrites ruine the Church it ſelf (as an enemies Souldiers in an Army): And nominal Chriſtians and Paſtors, that are heartily enemies to Chriſt, do him more wrong, and cauſe more diviſions and ruines in the Church, than they could have done, if they had ſtaid without.

9. It deſtroyeth moſt of the hopes of the ſucceſs of *thoſe Paſtors*, as to the converting and ſaving of mens ſouls: Becauſe when the Magiſtrate is made but *their* executioner, the people take all their ſufferings as *from them*: And they will bear that from a *Magiſtrate*, which they will not bear from a *Miniſter*, whoſe Office is to Rule them by *Reaſon and by Love*: And ſo ſuch Paſtors are uſually *feared* and *hated* by the people, whereby they are diſabled to do them that ſaying good, which can be done on none againſt his will, 1 *Cor.* 8. 13. *&* 9. 22. 1 *Tim.* 4. 16.

10. And hereby a Church-tyranny is ſet and kept up in the world, by which perſecutions and diviſions have been maintained for many hundred years; and the Miniſters of Chriſt have been forbidden to preach his Goſpel, to the unſpeakable injury of ſouls; and the lives of many hundred thouſands, have been a Sacrifice, to the Pride, and Avarice, and Cruelty of the Clergy; to the great diſhonour of the Chriſtian Name.

11. And hereby Princes have had a power ſet over them, to the diminution of their proper power, and part of their dominion ſubjugated to others, under the falſe name of *Eccleſiaſtical Authority*; yea, and their own ſtanding made troubleſome and unſafe, and multitudes dethroned, and Wars raiſed againſt them by the Clergies pretended power, or inſtigation; of which all the Wars between the

German Emperours and the Papalines are full proof, recorded in all the Hiſtories collected by *Freherus*, *Ruberus*, and *Piſtorius*, in *Sabbellicus*, *Naucclerus*, and multitudes of other Hiſtorians; and our *Engliſh* Hiſtories, by *Ingulphus*, *Matthew Paris*, *Hoveden*, &c. And the *Italian* by *Guicciardine* and many others: Nay, what Countrey is there, where the Papal and Tyrannical Clergy have not *overtopt* or *troubled* the State.

12. And when all this is done, they would deceive the Princes themſelves into a *Conſent*, and ſo into the guilt of their own diſturbance, and their peoples miſery: And caſt all the *odium* upon them, and ſay, we do but deliver you into the hands of the Secular Power, it is they that do the execution on you: when yet a General Council (the Rule of their Religion) *Later. ſub Innoc. 3. Can.* 2, 3. depoſeth ſuch Temporal Lords that will not do ſuch execution.

65. He that *deſireth* the Communion of the Church, doth take it for a grievous puniſhment to be caſt out of it. And he that doth not *deſire* it, is unfit for it. Therefore he that cannot feel the penalty of an Excommunication alone (but only of a Mulct or Priſon) may be fit enough for further puniſhment, but is unfit for the Communion of the Church.

66. Yet is the Magiſtrate the Protector of the Church, a Keeper of her Peace and Priviledges and of both Tables; and muſt uſe his power to promote Religion.

67. To which end he may prudently by moderate means conſtrain ſome that neglect their own ſalvation to hear Gods Word, and confer with ſuch as can inſtruct them, and uſe thoſe means, which God hath made univerſally neceſſary, to bring the ignorant to knowledge; and may reſtrain them from actual open ſin, and from ſcorn and oppoſition of the means that ſhould convert them, and from hindering others from the means of ſalvation, and from open ſeducing them from God, or Chriſtianity, or from a godly, righteous, or ſober life: In all this, moderate penalties may be uſed; and men may be thus far conſtrained, and reſtrained: But not conſtrained to profeſs that which

which they do not believe, nor to take the priviledges which God forbiddeth them to take. So that there are fitter means left, for the Magistrate to help the Church by.

68. The King and Magistrates have *curam animarum*, though not in the same sense as the Pastors have: They have the charge of Government, not only in order to the *corporal* case, and peace and prosperity of their subjects, but also in order to mens holy, sober and righteous living, and to the saving of mens souls. And their *Calling* must be *sanctified*, by doing all in it to these high and holy ends, *Rev.* 11. 15. *Rom.* 13. 3, 4, 5. *Isa.* 49. 23, *&c.*

69. They are Gods subordinate Officers, and have their power from him, and therefore for him, who is the beginning and the end of all, *Rom.* 13. 2, 4, 5, 6.

70. Because their power is from him and for him, they have none against him.

71. Yet have they a power which *we must submit to* as *from God*, even when it is *used* by accident against him, in some points of his will and interest; so be it that we obey it not in doing any *sin* our selves.

72. They that make Kings and Magistrates to have no charge of Religion, (but only as the Clergies judgement leads them,) but only to preserve mens bodily power; and say that the *Church* hath the care of mens *souls and Religion*, and the *King* only of the *Body* and our *outward wealth*, do debase the Magistrate as far below the Minister, as the body is below the soul; and teach the people to esteem, love and honour the Minister as much above the Magistrate, as the *soul* and *Heaven* are better than the *flesh* and *earth*: And they make the difference so great, as that the *holier* any of the people are, the more they must prefer their Minister before their King: which is a Popish and most unsufferable debasing of the highest Officers of God.

73. The same points of Religion, the same sin and duties, come under the judgement of the Magistrate and the Pastors; though to several ends. The Magistrate is the Judge of Heresie, and the Pastors are the Judges of Heresie: The Magistrate is the Judge of Murder, Adultery and Theft,

Theft, and so is the Pastor: That is, the *Magistrate* is *Judge, who is to be corporally punished for Heresie and Murder, and Adultery*, &c. And the *Pastors* are *Judges, who is to be excommunicated as Impenitent in such guilt*, 1 Cor. 5. 3, 4, 5, &c.

74. Yet there are some faults, and some sorts of inquisition into faults, which the Magistrates may prudently restrain the Pastors from medling with, for the safety of the publick peace: especially when they would indirectly make themselves Judges of mens Titles and Estates; or in controverted cases, where the Magistrate must first decide, and the Pastors only follow, if the Pastors will be the first deciders, and prevent the Magistrate and assume his work, or otherwise wrong the publick peace, or private right, they are to be restrained.

75. The Magistrate hath all the Coactive Government, over Ministers as well as over any others of his Subjects: And to exempt the Clergy from his subjection without his consent, as traiterous. (And if he *will consent*, he may thank himself.)

76. Magistrates may (by moderate penalties) drive on negligent Pastors to their duty, and restrain them from mischieving the Church, and punish them for notorious pernicious mal-administration: As *Solomon* deposed *Abiather*, &c.

77. But they must not on this pretence invade any part of the Pastors Office; as to ordain, degrade, baptize, excommunicate ecclesiastically, nor impose on the Pastors any of the circumstantials, which it is their own Office to determine of.

78. Pastors must obey the Magistrates in all Lawful things, which belong to his Office to command.

79. Many things are sinfully commanded (because without necessity or cause, or because to ill ends, or with ill circumstances in the Commander) which yet it is the Subjects duty to obey in: Because one Law may be for a Ruler, and another for a Subject, and their duties various.

80. Where it is not lawful to obey, it is yet unlawful for subjects to resist the higher powers, as being the authorized

authorized Officers of God, for our good, *Rom.* 13. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.

81. Though usually it is very unfit that Pastors be also *Magistrates* (both because of some dissonancy in their necessary deportment and work, and because one of the Offices alone is enough for any man faithfully to perform) Yet if the King make Magistrates of Pastors, *as Magistrates* their coactive power must be obeyed.

82. Magistrates may make Laws for the Church in circumstancials *circa sacra*, which belong to their proper determination: And also to enforce obedience to the Commands of God, as far as prudence shall justly direct them: of this see *Grotius de Imp. sum. pot.*

83. Magistrates may call Synods and Councils: And the *Pastors* may also *voluntarily* assemble, for *mutual advice*, either in cases of *great necessity* for the *safety* of the *Church*, or in *lesser cases*, when the Magistrate *forbiddeth it not.*

84. In a time when Blasphemy, or Heresie, or Sedition prevaileth, the Magistrate may name certain Blasphemies, Heresies, *&c.* which he may forbid his Subjects to preach up.

85. And he may restrain all utterly unable persons, or heretical false Teachers, or any that notoriously do more harm than good, from the liberty of preaching in his Dominions, till they are proved fitter; that is, from abusing the Gospel and mens souls.

86. But if on this pretence he should forbid Christs faithful able Ministers, to preach the Christian faith, and call men to repentance, and save mens souls, (when there are not enow more, especially to do that work, as proportioned to the number and necessity of souls) it would be a sin so heinous against Christ, and against the souls of men, as I think it not meet now to aggravate or express, 1 *Thes.* 2. 15, 16.

87. If faithful Ministers break good Laws, they must be punished as other Subjects, in Purse, or Body, or Name, so as may least hinder them in the work of Christ.

88. They that silence faithful able Pastors, for such faults as may be otherwise punished, do grievously punish the *faultless people* (even in their souls) for the fault of another.

ther. As if a man that hath a family of an hundred persons, were forbidden to give them bread to save their lives, because he was drunk, or swore an Oath, which might be punished on himself alone.

89. The Magistrate may *excommunicate in his way*, as well as the *Pastors do in theirs*. That is, the Magistrate may as a penalty for a crime, lay Subjects under a note of infamy, and Outlaw them, and command all men to avoid familiarity with them; (And this as *bad Subjects*, whether they be Church-members or not.) And he may as a *Keeper* of the Churches Priviledges and Peace (till forfeited) restrain all excommunicate persons from forcing themselves into the Communion of the Church which did excommunicate them.

90. So contentious are Pastors oft times, and so necessary is the Magistrates Office to the publick peace, that every Church should be under the eye of some Justices of the Peace, or Censors appointed by force to silence intruding Bawlers and Railers, and to restrain Ministers from making it their publick work, unpeaceably to traduce and revile their Brethren, and represent dissenters as odious to the flock. And if such Magistrates had kept the Churches *Order and Peace* according to *their Office*, it had prevented abundance of the Papal Usurpations, which were the fruit of Magistrates neglects.

91. *Lay Chancellors* exercising the *Spiritual Power* of the *Keyes* (though they should *pro forma* use the stale of an *Ordinaries pronunciation*) is such a sort of Church Government, as I will never swear that in my place and Calling I will not at any time endeavour to alter by lawful means.

92. The Parents are put in the fourth Commandment, rather than the Magistrate or Pastor, because their authority is the most plenary Image of the Divine Authority in these respects. 1. Their Authority is not by Contract, but by Nature. 2. It is the primary radical power. 3. It is most universally necessary to mankind. 4. And it *representeth Gods Government*. 1. In that it is founded in *Generation*, as Gods in *Creation*. 2. Because thence ariseth 1. The *fullest Image* of his *Dominion*, in the Parents *fullest Propriety* in his Child. 2. Of his *sapiential Rule*, in the Parents *Government*

vernment (as in presence) 3. Of his *Love* which Parents are allowed to exceed all other Rulers in : Therefore God calls himself Our Father.

93. *Q.* What if the Magistrate, Minister, and Parents have opposite Commands ? Which of them is to be obeyed ? *e. g.* The Magistrate bids you meet in one place for publick Worship ; the Bishop in another, and the Parent in a third ? The Magistrate bids you Learn one Catechism and no other ; the Bishop another, and not that ; and the Parents a third. The Magistrate bids you stand, the Pastor bids you kneel, the Parents bid you sit. The Magistrate bids you pray by one form, the Bishop by another, and the Parents by a third or none. The Magistrate commandeth one translation of the Scripture, and the Bishop another. The Bishop commandeth you to use a Ceremony, or to keep a holy day, and your Parents forbid it you ? In such cases which must you conform to and obey ? *Answ.* When I am desired, and promised by those concerned in it, that it will be well taken, I will answer such kind of questions as these. But till then I will hold my tongue, that I may hold my peace.

94. No contrary commands of *Church-men* (as they are called) ; nor any of our *own Vows* or *Covenants*, can excuse us from obedience to the Higher Powers, in lawful things, which God hath authorized them to command ; that is, which are belonging to their place of Government to regulate. Though if the question be but, *e. g.* What Medicine and Dose shall be given to a Patient, or by what *Medium* a Philosopher shall demonstrate ; or what Subject and what Method and Words a Pastor shall use for the present edification of his flock ; or how a Surgeon shall open a Vein, or a Pilot guide his Ship, *&c.* the Artist may be obeyed before an Emperour, (by him that careth for his life, or his understanding). But yet as all these are under the Government of the King, so he may give them general Laws ; especially to restrain them from notorious hurtfulness.

Sir, If all these Propositions be know for the Concord of sober Christians in these matters, I hope neither you, nor I, nor any lover of the Church and Peace, shall need to use much

sharpneſs againſt the Opinions of ſuch diſſenters. But if they be not, I know not when we ſhall have concord. And yet that you may ſee that I am not over ſollicitous *of* my Peace, *I will make up the number with theſe leſs pleaſing Propoſitions.*

95. Becauſe *Corruptio optimi, eſt peſſima, Magiſtrates* and *Miniſters* are of all men (uſually) either the greateſt *Bleſſings* or the greateſt *Burdens* of mankind on earth. Saith *Campanella*, (Metaph.)

Potentiæ, Sapientiæ, Amoris } *Corruptio, eſt* { *Tyrannis, Hæreſis, Hypocriſis.* } *maxima mundi mala.*

(though indeed he might as well have named more.) As *Tyranny* is in the greateſt part of the whole world, (which is Heathen, Infidel and Popiſh) the principal ſin, which hindereth the Goſpel and Kingdom of Chriſt, forbiddeth the preaching of the Word of life for mens ſalvation (And therefore a ſin which no Chriſtian Magiſtrate or Preacher, ſhould think of, but with great abhorrence, and none by any palliation ſhould befriend it); ſo *Prudent* and *Good Princes* are under God the Pillars of the world; For they are the Chief Officers of God, to ſhew forth his *Power*, *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs*, Truth and Holineſs, Juſtice and Mercy, in their Government; And by *their Laws* to promote the obedience of *his Laws*; And to encourage the Preachers and Practicers of Godlineſs, Sobriety and Righteouſneſs; And to defend them againſt the Malignity of thoſe that would ſilence, oppreſs and perſecute them on earth; And by their examples and puniſhments, to bring all *ungodlineſs*, *intemperance* and *injuſtice* unto ſhame. None therefore that poſſeſs ſo great a mercy, ſhould undervalue it, or be unthankful.

96. Wiſe Rulers will watch the Plots of ſuch enemies, as would uſe them as the Devil would have uſed Chriſt, who carried him to the Pinnacle of the Temple, in hope to have ſeen his fall the greater: who would have them with *Herod* arrogate the praiſe of God unto themſelves, or with *Pharaoh* or *Nebuchadnezzar* to diſdain to be under the Soveraignty of their Maker? and aſcribe to them the Divine Prerogatives;

Prerogatives; And would make it seem their honour to have *Power* to do the greatest mischief; that the pretence and claim may make them odious, and so may debilitate and undermine them. That like a draught of cold water to one in a Pleurisie, they may kill them by pleasing them.

97. It is an unchristian carnal craft for the Protestant Clergy of several Opinions, to lay false charges on one another, as being enemies to the Civil Government, when really their principles therein are all the same; Or to make the differences of Statesmen and Lawyers, to be taken for differences in Religion: purposely to make one another (and their Religion) odious, and to strengthen themselves by the errors and passions of Princes; till at last they have tempted the world to think as bad of all and of Religion it self, as they have said of one another, and by undermining others fall themselves.

98. But yet that Party who really make a Religion of the Doctrine of Rebellion, are to be disowned by all that will be true to God and to his Officers: In my Sermon to the Parliament the day before they Voted the Restoration of the King, I said somewhat of the difference of the Protestant and Popish Religion, in this point. And a Papist Gentleman first wrote an Invective against me, as if I had given no proof of what I said; And several persons of unknown names wrote Letters to me to urge and challenge me to prove it: Blindly or wilfully overlooking the undeniable proof which I had there laid down, from one of their General Councils, *viz.*

The Decrees of approved General Councils are the Papists Religion: The Decrees of approved General Councils are for the Popes deposing Temporal Lords, if they exterminate not such as deny Transubstantiation, and giving their Dominions to others: Ergo, *The Popish Religion is for the Popes deposing Temporal Lords in that case, and giving their Dominions to others.*

The Major is not questioned. The Minor, (besides the *Concil. Rom. sub Greg.* 7. which determineth that the Pope may depose Emperours) I there proved from the express words of *Concil. Lateran. sub Innoc.* 3. *Can.* 3. which uttereth

tereth it at large. And if any Proteſtant do (with Dr. *Tailor*, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Pierſon*) doubt of the authority of thoſe Canons, thats nothing to the Papiſts who juſtifie it as an approved Council, and vindicate it, as you may find with copiouſneſs and confidence, in the printed Anſwer to the laſt named Doctors. What impudency then is it in theſe men to challenge me to prove, and yet overlook my proof?

99. CHRISTIANITY according to the Scripture and primitive ſimplicity, in *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Government* and *Life*, doth conſtitute a CHRISTIAN, and a *Chriſtian Church*. The making of *humane additions* and *mutable adjuncts* to ſeem *things neceſſary*, doth conſtitute a SECT. (And alas how ſmall a part of the Chriſtian world, is not entangled in ſome ſuch *Sect*.) To be united to all *Chriſtians*, in the bond of *Chriſtianity*, is to be a *Catholick*: To trouble the Churches peace by ſtriving to ſet up one *Sect* or *Faction*, and ſuppreſs the reſt, is to be a *Schiſmatick* and *Sectary*.

So then if *ſome* will by a ſuperſtitious unſcriptural rigour of Diſcipline, make every Paſtors power arbitrary (or the peoples, which is worſe) in judging of mens inward holineſs, and will lay by the Scripture Title, which is (*a ſober Profeſſion of the Baptiſmal Covenant*) and think by this ſtrictneſs to advance the honour of their party, as to purity, They will but endleſly run into diviſions: And by ſetting themſelves at a greater diſtance, from common Chriſtians, than God alloweth them, provoke him to caſt on them ſome greater ſhame.

And if *any others* will make their *unneceſſary forms of Synods*, and other *adjuncts*, to ſeem ſo neceſſary, as to enter into Leagues and Covenants to make them the terms of the Churches Unity, God will not own ſuch terms nor ways; nor will they be durable, while the ground is mutable.

And if *in the Countreys where Popery and Church-tyranny prevail*, any *other* more *lofty faction*, ſhall perſwade the people that there muſt be *no King* any longer than *their domination* is upheld; and ſhall ſeek to twiſt the *corruptions*, *grandure* or *mutable adjuncts* of *their function*, by Oaths, into the very *Conſtitution* of the *State*; Like the *Trent* Oath, ſwearing

swearing the Subjects to obey the Church, yea, putting the *Church* before the *State*, and swearing them, *not at any time* (though commanded by the King) *to endeavour any alteration in that Church-Government*; no nor to *consent to any*; that so the subjects may be as fast *bound to them*, as they are by the *Oath of fidelity* to *their Kings*; It is time in such a case to pray [*God save the King*] and to write on our doors [*Lord have mercy on us.*] And a true subject in such cases, when it comes to *swearing*, must learn *Seneca*'s Lesson, [*No man more esteemeth vertue, than he that for the love of it can let go the reputation of it*;] And must be content to be *called Disloyal, disobedient, factious*, that he may *not be so*, nor betray *his Soul, his Prince*, and *his posterity*.

100. But to put my self out of the reach of any rational suspicion, besides what is said, I profess, that *I ascribe all that Power to Kings, which is given them by any Text of Scripture, or acknowledged by any Council General or Provincial, or by any publick authentick Confession of any Christian Church, either Protestant, Greek or Popish, that ever I yet saw.* And if this be not enough as to matter of Religion, (leaving the Cases of Law to Lawyers) I can give you no more.

Object. Eccles. 1. 18. *In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow.* 7. 16. *Be not righteous over much; neither make thy self over wise: why shouldst thou destroy thy self?* 9. 2. *As is the good, so is the sinner: he that sweareth, as he that feareth an Oath.* Isa. 59. 15. *Truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey.* 1 Kings 22. 13. *Let thy word, I pray thee, be like the word of one of them, and speak good.* ——

Answ. V. 14. *As the Lord liveth, what the Lord saith unto me, that I will speak.* Luke 12. 4. *I say to you my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But,* &c. 1 Thess. 2. 15, 16. *They please not God, and are contrary to all men; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved, to fill up their sins alwayes; for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*

Acts

Acts 20. 24. *But none of these things move me,* neither *count I my life dear unto my self, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the Ministry which I have received,* &c. 1 Cor. 4. 17, 18. *For our light affliction which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding eternal weight of glory: While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: For the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal.*

Sept. 21. 1669.

Addition:

Addition: Of the Power of Kings and Bishops out of Bishop *Bilson* and *Andrews*.

LEst you should wrong the sober Episcopal Divines, so as to think that they claim as *jure Divino*, and as Pastoral, any Coercive forcing power, but only an authoritative perswading power, and that of the Keyes of the Church, I will transcribe some of the words of that Learned, Judicious Bishop *Bilson* in his *Tract.* of *Christian Subjection*; By which you will see, that all forcing power claimed by them, is only Magistratical, as they are the Kings Officers, and not from Christ.

Note also that constantly he distinguisheth the Magistrates power from the Pastors, by the [*Sword*] as the instrument of execution, which even about Ecclesiastical matters is proper to the Magistrate; As the power of the *Word* and *Sacraments*, or *Keyes* of the Church, is the Pastors: And these are the shortest, plainest, and least ambiguous terms; and more clear than [*Internal*, Ecclesiastical and Civil] which have all much obscurity and ambiguity.

Pag. 238. *Princes only be Governours in things and Causes Ecclesiastical, that is, with the Sword——Bishops be no Governours in those things with the Sword.*] Pag. 240. *We confess Princes to be Supream Governours,——Supream bearers of the Sword——We give Princes no power to devise or invent new Religions, to alter or change Sacraments, to decide or debate doubts of faith, to disturb or infringe the Canons of the Church.*

But of these two last I must tell you, what we Puritans (as they call us) hold 1. That the King may and must decide doubts of faith, in order to execution by the Sword (as, who shall be banished or imprisoned as a Teacher of Heresie) 2. And that Canons *circa sacra* not takeing the Pastors proper work out of his hand may be made by the Magistrate even if he please without the Prelates;

And if Pastors make Canons, they are but in order to their proper way of execution.

Pag. 252. *And if Princes shall not bear the Sword, in things and Causes Ecclesiastical, you must tell us who shall*——*Since by Gods Law the Priest may not meddle with the Sword, the consequent is inevitable, that Princes alone are Gods Ministers, bearing the Sword, to reward and revenge good and evil in all things and causes, be they Temporal, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical: unless you think that disorders and abuses Ecclesiastical should be freely permitted*——Page 256. *This then is the Supream power of Princes, which we teach*——*That they be Gods Ministers in their own Dominions, bearing the Sword, freely to permit and publickly defend that which God commandeth*——*So may they with just force remove whatsoever is erroneous, vicious, and superstitious within their Lands, and with external losses and corporal pains repress the broachers and abetters of Heresies and all impieties*——*From which subjection to Princes, no man within their Realms, Monk, Priest, Preacher or Prelate is exempted: And without their Realms no mortal man hath any power from Christ judicially to depose them; much less to invade them in open field, least of all to warrant their Subjects to rebell against them. These be the things which we contend for; and not whether Princes be Christs Masters, or the functions to preach, baptize, impose hands, and forgive sins, must be derived from the Princes power and Laws; or the Apostles might enter to convert Countreys, without* Cæsars *delegations; These be jests and shifts of yours.*

Page 261. *To Bishops speaking the Word of God, Princes as well as others must yield obedience: But if Bishops pass their Commission, and speak besides the Word of God, what they list, both Prince and people may despise them.*

Page 258. *His Word is Truth: and therefore your Bishops cannot be Judges of the Word of Christ, but they must be Judges of Christ himself that speaketh by his Word, which is no small presumption.*——*My Sheep hear my voice*——*They be no Judges of his voice.*——

Page 259. *If you take judging for discerning,*——*the People must be discerners and Judges of that which is taught*---

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Page 271. Ph. *If General Councils might err, the Church might err*——Th. *As though none were of or in the Church, but only Bishops! Or all the Bishops of* Christendome *without exception, were ever present at any Council? Or the greater part of those that are present might not strike the stroke without the rest*——

See pag. 350, 351, 352. Et seq. *That only Magistrates may touch body or goods.*

Page 358. *The Watchmen and Shepheards that serve Christ in his Church, have their kind of Regiments distinct from the temporal Power and State: But that Regiment of theirs is by Counsel and perswasion, not by terror or Compulsion; and reacheth neither to the goods, nor to the bodies of any men*——

Page 366. *As for your Episcopal Power over Princes, if that be it you seek for, and not to take their Kingdoms from them, I told you, If they break the Law of God, you may reprove them: If they hear you not, you may leave them in their sins, and shut Heaven against them. If they fall to open Heresie or wilful impiety, you may refuse to communicate with them in prayers and other divine duties; yea, you must rather yield your lives with submission into their hands, than deliver them the Word and Sacraments, otherwise than God hath appointed.*]

(Say you so; I promise you Sir, if Kings must be dealt so strictly with, though it cost you your lives, I will be a Non-conformist a little longer, though it cost me my livelihood, rather than give Baptism, the Lords Supper, Absolution, and the justifying assertions at Burials, as commonly as I must do, if I conform.)

P. 525. *Pastors have their kind of Correction even over Princes: but such as by Gods Law, may stand with the Pastors Vocation; and tend to the Princes salvation: and that exceedeth not the Word and Sacraments: Other Correction over any private man Pastors have none; much less over Princes*---- *Princes may force their Subjects by the Temporal Sword.*—— *Bishops may not force their flock with any corporal or external violence.* Pag. 526. *Chrysostom* saith——*For of all men Christian (Bishops) may least correct the faults of men by force: Judges that are without the Church*——*may compell*——*But*

here (in the Church) we may not offer any violence, but only perswade. We have not so great authority given us by the Laws as to repress offenders : And if it were lawful for us so to do, we have no use of any such violent power; for that Christ crowneth them which abstain from sin, not of a forced, but of a willing mind——*Hilary* teacheth the same Lesson; *If this violence were used for the true faith, the doctrine of Bishops would be against it. God needeth no forced service : He requireth no constrained confession : I cannot receive any man but him that is willing* ☜ *I cannot give ear, but to him that intreateth. I cannot sign, (that is, baptize any but him that (gladly) professeth.*——So *Origen*—— *For all the crimes which God would have revenged, he would have them revenged not by the Bishops and Rulers of the Church, but by the Judges of the world*——*Bishops by vertue of their Callings cannot command others, or authorize violence or arms.*——

Pag. 541. *Parliaments have been kept by the King and his Barons, the Clergy wholly excluded; and yet their Acts and Statutes good. And when the Bishops were present, their Voices from the Conquest to this day, were never Negative. By Gods Law you have nothing to do with making Laws for Kingdoms and Commonwealths : You may teach, you may not command. Perswasion is your part : Compulsion is the Princes.*

Page 245. Far better St. *Ambrose* saith [*If the Emperour ask for Tribute, we deny it not : The Lands of the Church pay Tribute : If he affect the Lands themselves, he hath power to take them : no man among us is any let to him. The alms of the people is enough for the poor. Let them never procure us envy for our Lands : let them take them if they please : I do not give them to the Emperour, but I do not deny them.*

So far *Bilson.*

All this we allow : And if all this be the concurrent judgement of all sorts of sober Protestants, called Episcopal or Presbyterians, what reason hath any Erastian upon the account of the Magistrates interest to quarrel with them. If any *practise* not according to these principles, let them hear of it.

Indeed

Indeed in point of *convenience* we greatly differ from some men: That is, 1. Whether it be *convenient* for the King to make Church-men *Magistrates*, or not? 2. And whether it be *convenient* immediately to back their Excommunications, with the *Sword*; And for the Magistrate to be the Clergies Executioner, or to imprison men *eo nomine*, because excommunicate and not repenting. 3. And whether it be *convenient* to make the *same Court* called Ecclesiastical, so mixt of *Pastoral* and *Secular Power united*, in one Chancellor (who is no Pastor, but a Lay man) or in a Bishop, as that in and by it, the *Magistrates*, and the *Spiritual* Government shall be either confounded, or so twisted as to be undiscernable, or become one *tertium*.

But for this, as we love not to be too forward in teaching Magistrates what is *convenient*, (though many of the ancient Fathers have done it plainly, and spoken against the Magistracy of Priests; and *Cyril* of *Alexandria* is branded by *Socrates* and others with some infamy, as the first Bishop that used Coercive power); so you have more cause to say what you have to say in this, to the *Magistrate himself*, than to the *Bishops* or *Presbyteries*: For if the Magistrate *will* needs make Priests his Officers, and put his Sword into such hands, as have enough to do in their proper work, Or if he will punish men with the Sword, because they are punished already by excommunication, or because they repent not, lest excommunication alone should prove uneffectual; quarrel not for his actions with other men: It is his own doing; and it is himself that you blame, when you blame these things: Say not that Prelates or Presbyteries *take the Magistrates power from him*; but say the truth, that the Magistrate *giveth* it them, and *will have it* so to be. (Though I excuse none that urge him to it, or voluntarily assume his Power.)

Bishop *Andrews* also saith *Tortur Torti p.* 383. [*Cohibeat Regem Diaconus, si cum indignus sit, idq; palam constet, accedat tamen ad Sacramentum: Cohibeat & medicus, si ad noxium quid vel insalubre manum admoveat: Cohibeat & Equiso, si inter equitandum adigat Equum per locum præruptum, vel salebrosum, cui subsit periculum. Etiamne*

amne medico? Etiamne Equiſoni ſuo ſubjectus Rex? Sed de Majori poteſtate loquitur: ſed ea ad rem noxiam procul arcendam: qua in re Charitatis ſemper Poteſtas eſt maxima.

Here you ſee what Church Government is in Biſhop *Andrews* ſenſe, and how far the Biſhops hold the King himſelf to be reſtrainable even by a Deacon; And yet but (I think) according to your own ſenſe, I pray you judge then whether the Biſhops and you differ as far as you imagine; and whether the Courts and Church power which offendeth you, be not ſet up by Kings themſelves, who make the Biſhops their Officers therein. To which add what *Bilſon* proveth that Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Archbiſhops Dignities are the gift of Princes, and not the inſtitution of Chriſt, and then you will ſee more, that it is the Princes own doing.

I add to the like purpoſe more out of *Bilſon* pag. 313. [*We grant, they muſt rather hazard their lives, than baptize Princes which believe not,* or *diſtribute the Lords myſteries to them that repent not, but give wilful and open ſignification of iniquity*, &c.] This is Church Government, which none can contradict.

This is it that *Chryſoſtom* ſo often profeſſeth alſo, as that he would rather let his own blood be ſhed, than give the blood of Chriſt to the unworthy.

And *Beda Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. cap. 5.* telleth us, that *Melitus* Biſhop of *London* (with *Juſtus*) was baniſhed by the heirs of King *Sabareth*, becauſe he would not give them the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which they would needs have before they were baptized.

(And by the way, if Biſhops ſay that *Kings* muſt be uſed thus, the Non-conformiſts are not ſuch intolerable Schiſmaticks, as ſome now repreſent them, for deſiring, that every Presbyter may not be compelled againſt his Conſcience to give the Sacrament to the baſeſt of the people that are ignorant what Chriſt or Chriſtianity is, and to them that are not willing to receive it, but are forced to take it againſt their wills for fear of a Priſon; nor to baptize the Children of ſuch Parents as know not what baptiſm is, or as are profeſſed Infidels, having not ſo much

as

as Christian *Adopters*, but only Ceremonious persons called God-fathers and God-mothers.)

Papirius Massonus in vita Leonis 1. reciteth his words of the Magistrates banishing the *Manichees*, and addeth [*Ex hac rei gestæ narratione perspicuum est Romanos Episcopos relegare tunc non potuisse, nec in exilium reos mittere, ut hodie faciunt; sed eos tantum censura coercere, & pœna ecclesiastica mulctare.*

I add no more, supposing that almost all sober Episcopal, Presbyterians, Independents and Erastians are agreed in all the first ninety four Propositions, (if not all) that are here asserted; and that all those may suffice to signifie their Concord, and promote their Reconciliation, if *Interest* (mistaken) and Passion (mis-guided) did not much more than difference of judgement in these matters, to cause their alienation.

And as I have written this to vindicate both the Power of Kings, and the Office of Pastors from any mens unjust suspicions or accusations, who look only on one side; and to shew that these Offices are no more contrary than *Head* and *Heart*, than *Light* and *Heat*: so I do require the Reader to put no sense upon any thing here written, which is injurious to the Government of Magistrates or Pastors, or contrary to the Laws: For all such senses I do hereby disclaim.

FINIS.